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EDITORIAL

LONG experience of publishers' blurbs teaches one to take them with a grain of salt. Yet there is always a hope that they may after all be true. When we read that a book¹ is "as exciting for the concert-goer and the lover of classical music as for the large section of the public that takes its jazz seriously" we stifle a natural incredulity and turn the pages, if not hopefully, at least with interest. So few books are exciting: perhaps this one is an exception. "Exciting for the concert-goer"—well, we are all concert-goers. Whether we belong to "the large section of the public that takes its jazz seriously" does not matter for the moment, though we cannot help wondering exactly what is meant by 'its'.

Mr. Pleasants has an introduction which tells us what the book is about. We can skip that and find out for ourselves what he has to say. On the first page of his first chapter he quotes with approval Honegger's remark that "the contemporary composer is a gate-crasher trying to push his way into a company to which he has not been invited". It is tempting to describe this as nonsense: it is not unreasonable to call it inaccurate. No artist is 'invited' into any company unless his work is commissioned; and commissions generally come only to those who have already made a reputation. The concert world is not a club of which the classics are members of long standing. It is a means of providing entertainment for the public. 'Entertainment' is perhaps an ambiguous term. Handel, complimented by Lord Kinnoull on the "noble entertainment" provided by 'Messiah',

¹ 'Death of a Music?' By Henry Pleasants. pp. 192. (Gollancz, London, 1961, 21s.)

is said to have replied: "My lord, I should be sorry if I only entertained them, I wish to make them better". This leads us into further difficulties. What did he mean by 'better'? However, we need not waste time quibbling over terms. A concert is meant to be enjoyed. The contemporary composer hopes that his works will be enjoyed. He is, in fact, inviting the audience to enjoy them. So far from being a gate-crasher, he is much more like a salesman hawking his wares.

Having argued at some length about Honegger and Mr. Pleasants's approval, we turn the page only to find that the contemporary composer is apparently in a remarkably enviable position:

Thanks to . . . propaganda, the contemporary composer enjoys an activity in his own behalf, a predisposition in his favour, never enjoyed by the composers from whose music the standard repertoire is drawn. Prizes, awards, fellowships, grants, commissions, festivals, subsidies and indulgent criticism assist him on his way. Promoters occasionally accept deficits, performers tax the patience of their listeners, and listeners listen dutifully, all in order that our musical society may not in the future be charged with failure to support the composers of its own time.

This seems a very odd description of a gate-crasher. It almost looks as if there were no gate to crash. Is Mr. Pleasants talking nonsense as well as Honegger? The question is worth investigating.

The argument is that what is called 'serious music' has come to a dead end. It is supported by a wealth of references to the music of the past and the present. These are so numerous as to be impressive, but unfortunately so many of them beg the question or are obviously wrong that the argument limps: in fact, it starts limping before it has even got under way. The first two pages are sufficient to show that Mr. Pleasants is not a master of logic. The rest of the book shows that he is not even certain of his facts. At the risk of being tiresome I quote a number of passages, with commentary attached:

Bach, Handel, Mozart, and even Beethoven all worked at composition for a living. They were expected to give their employers and benefactors what the latter wanted . . . They wrote the kind of music that was fashionable in the society whose tastes and habits shaped the cultural profile of the time.

This is generalization on a grand scale. How much of Bach's music was fashionable? Who were the employers who expected Handel to give them what they wanted? Who were Mozart's benefactors in Vienna? In what sense did Beethoven's later works suit the tastes and habits of contemporary society? The reader may answer these questions for himself. On the same page we read:

Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Chopin, Liszt and Brahms

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all derived a sizeable proportion of their incomes from commissioned compositions and the sale of their published works. What they earned additionally as teachers, virtuosos and conductors was directly related to the fame and popularity derived from their compositions.

This is very muddled. Chopin and Liszt made their reputation primarily as virtuosos; Mendelssohn had private means; Schubert's income was so modest (an average of about £500 a year, at present rates, from 1812-28) that it makes very little sense to talk about a sizeable proportion of it—he would have been very hard up at times without the help of friends.

When we turn to composers nearer our own time there are some more questionable statements:

In nothing he wrote afterwards was Strauss able to achieve the popular success of the tone poems and the early operas, 'Salomé' and 'Der Rosenkavalier'. Schönberg never again wrote music as appealing as the 'Gurrelieder' and 'Verklärte Nacht'. Stravinsky's most popular works remain 'The Firebird' and 'Petrouchka'. Ravel's masterpiece is the comparatively early 'Daphnis and Chloe'. Puccini could never surpass the success of 'La Bohème', 'Madam Butterfly' and 'Tosca'.

This is a terrible jumble. 'Popular' is equated with 'successful', and both, it seems, with 'masterpiece'. The implication seems to be that all these composers were successful in their early years but not afterwards, regardless of the fact that Strauss was 41 when 'Salomé' was produced. Whether 'Salomé' was ever a popular success I must leave others to judge; but if it was, it seems curious to deny the term to Puccini's 'Turandot', which is in the current repertory of every major opera house in the world. I must confess I do not understand what Mr. Pleasants means by describing 'Gurrelieder' as 'appealing'. Appealing to whom? There are plenty of people to whom many of Schönberg's later works appeal very strongly. As for Ravel, is Mr. Pleasants unfamiliar with 'L'Enfant et les sortilèges' and the two piano concertos, not to mention 'Bolero'?

Mr. Pleasants likes quoting from other writers. On p. 43 he cites, apparently with approval, an observation made by Křenek:

We must go back to Monteverdi's time in order to observe a transition from one tonal language to another corresponding to that which took place with Schönberg.

He adds:

The transition to which Křenek refers in citing Monteverdi is, of course, the transition from modal polyphony to tonal harmony.

More nonsense. If Mr. Pleasants thinks that the late sixteenth-

century madrigal was an example of modal polyphony he had better go to school again. And what Monteverdi had to do with "a transition from one tonal language to another" is anyone's guess. Artusi, who was Monteverdi's severest critic, complained of the 'irregular' way in which he treated dissonance, but this has nothing to do with tonality. Warming to the work Mr. Pleasants goes on to speak of "the cataclysm at the end of the sixteenth century when the modes gave way before the diatonic scale". It is odd that writers of the time seem to have been unaware of this cataclysm.

Mr. Pleasants is on equally shaky ground when he comes to later developments. He says:

Every step in the evolution of harmony from the seventeenth century to the twentieth has been executed either by the orchestra or by a substitute for it—that is, by a smaller combination of orchestral instruments or by a keyboard instrument.

This is special pleading with a vengeance, reminiscent of the wolf's cross-examination of the lamb. If we disregard the naïvety of supposing that a keyboard instrument is a mere substitute for an orchestra it is evident that this generalization sweeps even more widely, and more wildly, than its predecessors. In the seventeenth century it was not the orchestra that contributed most to the 'evolution of harmony' but vocal music in the shape of the operatic aria and dramatic recitative, and the allied forms of the chamber cantata. In the eighteenth-century it would be very difficult to fit Bach into Mr. Pleasants's strait-jacket. Some of his most subtle harmony comes in his arrangements of chorales, and in the field of instrumental music his keyboard works are in general harmonically more striking than his orchestral compositions. A man who believes that Bach used the harpsichord as a substitute for the orchestra will believe anything. As for C. P. E. Bach, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven it is absurd to pretend that their orchestral works are more important for the development of harmony than the rest of their output; nor is it clear how the mature quartets of Haydn and Beethoven could be regarded as substitutes for a larger ensemble.

Naturally when we come to Wagner the cap fits, because Wagner wrote nothing of importance apart from his operas. But it does not fit Liszt and Chopin, whose keyboard works are notable for their enrichment of the harmonic palate. And what of Schumann, Grieg and Fauré, all of whom showed outstanding originality in their songs and piano pieces? It is not true to say, as Mr. Pleasants does, that "since Beethoven's time, harmonic evolution has been, to a great extent, not only orchestrally executed, but also orchestrally

conceived". There is nothing orchestral about Brahms's piano music; in fact, it is very difficult to score effectively. Some of Wolf's songs certainly seem to have been thought of in terms of the orchestra, but there are plenty where the accompaniment is wholly pianistic; and the piano works of Debussy and Ravel are anything but a transference of orchestral colour to the keyboard—on the contrary they exploit features of the piano which could not be reproduced in orchestral terms. A little later on Mr. Pleasants tells us that before the time of Mozart and Haydn (who was born 24 years before Mozart), "and indeed in their own youth" (whose youth?) "orchestration had been a haphazard affair". Is there anything haphazard about the enormously varied scoring of Vivaldi's concertos, of Bach's use of the flute, recorder, oboe d'amore and viola da gamba, of Handel's employment of the harp, bassoon and horn?

When he comes to speak of criticism Mr. Pleasants lets his imagination have its head. Contemporary critics, it seems, accept the 'dogma' of progress and dare not condemn the music of our time. A critic "may dislike individual compositions, and say so; but he says it politely, and more in sorrow than in anger. He will not say how bad he really thinks they are". One can only wonder what sort of world Mr. Pleasants lives in. It is true that some critics have bees in their bonnets about particular composers and will not hear a word against them. But there is plenty of criticism of contemporary music today which is not merely hostile but even virulent. The meek tribe of pen-pushers which Mr. Pleasants has conjured up simply does not exist. A critic who does not say what he thinks is a bad critic; and though there are some bad critics in every country there are also plenty of good ones. As for the 'dogma' of progress, that was exploded long ago. No intelligent person accepts it today, and certainly no one uses it as a standard of judgment.

The unfortunate thing is that there is some truth in what Mr. Pleasants has to say; but his argument is so bedevilled by all these misconceptions and false parallels that it gets him nowhere and merely exasperates the reader. The facts are simple. A certain amount of contemporary music is not attractive to the public because it is unintelligible. You cannot like something you cannot understand, and the natural result is that you dislike it. The reason may be that the composer uses an idiom which has no obvious connection with most of the music with which the music-lover is familiar; it may also be that he is so tied to a system of composition that he forces his ideas into a mould instead of allowing them to direct his inspiration. It is quite true, as Mr. Pleasants says, that many composers have "for-

gotten that the musician's primary purpose in life is to sing". Music that is unsingable—and this is unfortunately true of a good deal of vocal music today—does not easily stir a response in the listener's breast. There is a tendency among some composers to regard the system as more important than the ideas, which leads to the natural suspicion that they are writing for each other or merely for themselves. When compositions are judged by their adherence to the twelve-note system and not by the quality of their ideas the situation is absurd. It is rather as if one were to determine the value of an eighteenth-century symphony or concerto by its obedience to the text-book rules of sonata form. I once heard a professor of music inform a hesitant candidate at a *viva voce* examination that "C. P. E. Bach gave us sonata form", as though that were a claim to distinction. If that were all that C. P. E. Bach had to contribute his music would be as dead as mutton. As for Haydn and Mozart—but why go on? The point does not need labouring.

There is plenty of music today that is still-born, plenty in which experiment is not matched by imagination. But to argue from this that music is dead must seem ridiculous to anyone who has any sort of historical perspective. To take first the work of deceased composers, can any intelligent observer of the musical scene maintain that Berg and Bartók ended their careers in a cul-de-sac? Then there is Stravinsky, whose imagination seems as fertile today as it was in the far-off days of 'Petrouchka' and 'Le Sacre du printemps'. As far as Mr. Pleasants and his imaginary public are concerned, 'Petrouchka' was the end. Has he never heard 'Oedipus Rex', the Capriccio for piano and orchestra, the 'Symphonie de psaumes', 'The Rake's Progress' or 'Threni', or observed the enthusiasm which these works arouse in a public to whom, he would have us believe, they mean nothing? And if it is argued that a composer who will be 80 next year is not a fair example, the answer will be that not every young or middle-aged composer today is hidebound by theory or hypnotized by experiment. There are tricksters at work, there are even charlatans, and men who would have been better employed at woodwork or nuclear research; but these do not represent the sum total of the creative effort of our time, nor will posterity regard them as representative. Granted that there is much that is beastly and much that is as insulting to the intelligence as it is an affront to the ear, there is still plenty of music which enables the listener to feel that he is in communication with a fellow human being.

Mr. Pleasants would not agree with all this. For him the present situation is simple, and the remedy for our ills is equally simple—

jazz. At least it would be simple if we knew exactly what he meant by jazz. As it is, the fog which shrouds his bird's-eye view of history becomes even denser when he turns to his chosen topic. There is "confusion", he says, "even among those close to the subject, regarding what it is people are talking about when they talk about jazz". Agreed. He offers a solution: "When people talk about jazz, whether about what it is or what it is not, they are talking about American music". This, whether true or not, is at least definite. Yet a few pages later on we are told that jazz "is more deeply rooted in Europe than in America . . . American music, or jazz, is more European than African . . . Of the basic relationship to the European tradition there can be no doubt". This comes after American (or popular) music has been deliberately contrasted with European (or serious) music; and the existence of serious American music or popular European music is virtually ignored. After a time Mr. Pleasants suggests that we should "drop the term 'jazz' and think instead of an indigenous American music already well on the way to becoming the characteristic music of the twentieth century". I am all for thinking, provided it is clear thinking. But thinking which suggests a mouse on a revolving wheel is not much use to anybody. American music, we read, is "loved and imitated all over the world. It is an uninhibited music in a world and particularly in a youth longing for freedom of expression and behaviour. Its pulse reflects the restless and inexorable momentum of the pace of modern urban life". Splendid—though one cannot help reflecting that a large proportion of the youth of the world has as much freedom of expression and behaviour as anyone could want, without having to long for it. All this is mere rhetoric, Mr. Pleasants, and you know it.

The wide definition now given to jazz leads on to a discussion of the American musical, which many experts would not regard as jazz at all. Here we are told that "music and drama both proceed from the impulse to achieve a concentration and sublimation of life-experience", from which we proceed to 'West Side Story' and its fellows, with a crisp aside to the effect that 'The Consul', 'Vanessa', 'Peter Grimes', 'The Rape of Lucretia' and 'Troilus and Cressida' "sound old-fashioned". A further flash of insight: "The decisive thing about music in the motion picture is not that it is good, bad or indifferent, but that it is essential". This begs the question on such a grand scale that Mr. Pleasants ought to have blushed when he wrote it. More important than all this, of course, is the fact that the jazz musician has the beat. "The jazz musician will beat the rhythm with his foot. The serious musician, not versed in jazz, will not." By-

passing the implication that the jazz musician is not serious, I cannot help asking why anyone who is a musician should need to beat time for himself at all. Rhythm is something that exists inside you: you either feel it or you do not. And the simpler it is the less need there is to tap it on the floor. But according to Mr. Pleasants the jazz musician would be lost without this physical reminder of the beat. "If he were to lose contact with it, he would come plummeting back to earth." This seems to be the point at which we might well imitate his descent to reality and tell Mr. Pleasants that if he wants to convince an incredulous public he should take a course of logic and try again. There would be no need for his book to be exciting: it would be sufficient if it were clear. He says on p. 160: "No one will argue that even the best of American music is an improvement upon Bach". He need not worry. No one is likely to try.

MOZART'S INFLUENCE ON ENGLISH MUSIC

BY NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY

By the end of the eighteenth century the *galant* style of J. C. Bach, strengthened and enriched by Haydn, had become the everyday idiom for all instrumental music in England. The effect of Haydn's symphonies had been immense. Probably it was their orchestration which above all astonished an audience accustomed to the lightweight scoring of J. C. Bach, Abel, and the Italian operas popular in the 1780's. Haydn's popularity had been established partly as a result of two highly successful visits to London. It was vastly increased, in the eyes of the English, by the flattering facts that he first wrote twelve important symphonies specially for London, and later composed an oratorio on what was regarded as the English model. 'The Creation' was, indeed, the only work for over a century that was conceded a place beside Handel's oratorios, though it is an odd fact that after the first few performances it became the regular practice to perform only the first part. Several English oratorios were written in imitation of 'The Creation' and 'The Seasons'.¹ The few symphonies of the early 1800's, notably those by S. Wesley² and Crotch, imitate the plans and dimensions of Haydn's London symphonies, their tonality, and above all their orchestration. His piano sonatas were also a good deal imitated around the turn of the century. His chamber music had less direct influence, for English string quartets and piano trios were a rarity at this time.

Haydn has remained a popular composer in England ever since. His music has never been difficult to listen to, and the attitude to it has not, on the whole, changed a great deal since 1800. Naturally there was a decline in popularity as other composers became more fashionable, but his symphonies held their own all through the nineteenth century, while his chamber music increased in popularity with the advent of the chamber concert in 1835. He was thought of as the father of the modern school of instrumental music, and the senior member of that great trio of symphonists with whom all other composers were compared.

¹ Some were listed in my article 'Handel's Influence on English Music', *Monthly Musical Record*, Sept.-Oct. 1960, p. 166.

² *Ibid.*, p. 170, Ex. 3.

The attitude to Mozart was quite different. He made no personal visit to England, except as a child; his music was introduced gradually, mainly after his death, and was very slow in gaining recognition. Haydn himself performed several of Mozart's symphonies in London, and other musicians, notably Storace and Cimador, made early efforts to make his music known. But they met with little response. The truth is that Mozart's music sounded strange, difficult and discordant to the men of 1790. In Eric Blom's words, it

moves forward from one pithy idea to the next in a way that must have kept his hearers, who were accustomed to regard music as an accompaniment to other distractions, very strenuously engaged. It was that which led to their regarding his music as overcharged and too full-blooded, more than any inherent strangeness in the idiom as such.³

This was no doubt the feeling of the writer in *The Times* who, as late as 1812, in a review of 'La clemenza di Tito', made the following comments:

His composition, if it has all that can be given by science, probably bears the exclusive impression of science too strongly and too unremittingly for the general ear; and the pleasure with which the few scattered airs that occasionally relieve the ponderous and laboured character of the composition were received, might have persuaded the admirers of the unmitigated German School that taste, nature, and simplicity might in some instances, at least, be advantageously substituted for chromatics and cadences, the crashing of disjointed harmonies, and the array of scientific discordance.⁴

Few people today would identify Mozart as the object of this criticism—even the Mozart of 'Tito'. Nor would many of us feel tempted to compare Mozart with Rubens, or, in making such a comparison, find ourselves

forced to wonder at the waste of labour with which those eminent masters overwhelmed their works.⁵

But Mozart's music steadily gained ground in spite of its difficulty. The Requiem made a great impact at its first English performance in 1801, and from then onwards the symphonies and overtures (especially the overture to 'Die Zauberflöte') were more and more frequently to be heard. The operas were gradually introduced, beginning with 'Tito' in 1806 and culminating in 'Don Giovanni' in 1817. It was not until the introduction of 'Don Giovanni', a quarter of a century after the composer's death, that his English reputation reached its height.

³ 'Mozart' (London, rev. ed., 1952), p. 219.

⁴ *The Times*, 15 March 1812.

⁵ *The Times*, 8 March 1813.

Even then there was an absence of the popular acclaim that had been accorded to Haydn. Mozart was never the idol of fashionable London. Rather was he appreciated by musicians and critics, and by the new middle-class audiences and amateurs, who allowed their tastes to be guided by the musical profession, while the aristocracy dragged the musical profession after its own fancies. Many of the leading English musicians of the early nineteenth century stated, or showed by their actions, that they regarded Mozart as the greatest of composers. J. B. Cramer⁸ idolized Mozart and worked constantly to spread a knowledge of his music⁹; at a public dinner in Cramer's honour on the occasion of his retirement in 1835 he chose to play "a work of his favourite author, Mozart's Fantasia in C minor".¹⁰ To Crotch, Mozart was "the greatest of all modern composers"¹¹; to Vincent Novello, "the Shakespeare of music"¹²; to Leigh Hunt, "the most Shaksperian of musicians"¹³; to John Barnett, "[he] who has shed an unfading lustre over the music of all ages"¹⁴; to Cowden Clarke, "that prince of dramatic writers" and "the most various musical genius that ever lived"¹⁵; to George Macfarren (senior), "the greatest of musicians".¹⁶ Macfarren also saluted the Requiem as "the greatest inspiration of the human mind".¹⁷ His son, G. A. Macfarren, wrote:

The greatest musician who has delighted and enriched the world is
WOLFGANG AMADEUS MOZART . . . Beethoven was sometimes weak,
Mozart never.¹⁸

William Ayrton, who had been responsible for the first production of 'Don Giovanni' already mentioned, later called it "the *chef d'œuvre* of the greatest dramatic composer that ever lived"¹⁹; Desmond Ryan, an ardent Mendelssohnian, described it as "the mightiest lyrical production of all times", and considered the "last scene" (by which he meant the scene in which Don Giovanni descends

⁸ Cramer, though born in Germany, lived almost all his life in London. He is treated here as an English composer, as he was regarded by his contemporaries.

⁹ A. Hyatt King, 'Mozart in Retrospect' (London, 1955), pp. 115-6.

¹⁰ *Monthly Supplement to the Musical Library*, ii (1835), p. 76.

¹¹ W. Crotch, 'The Substance of several Courses of Lectures on Music' (London, 1831), p. 145.

¹² Nerina Medici and Rosemary Hughes, 'A Mozart Pilgrimage' (London, 1955), p. xvii and *passim*.

¹³ *Musical World*, xi (1839), p. 131.

¹⁴ *The Harmonicon*, 1832, p. 129.

¹⁵ *Musical World*, i (1836), p. 137; ii (1836), p. 23.

¹⁶ *Musical World*, xvii (1842), p. 140.

¹⁷ *Musical World*, xviii (1843).

¹⁸ H. C. Banister, 'George Alexander Macfarren' (London, 1891), p. 221.

¹⁹ *The Harmonicon*, 1828, p. 144.

into Hell) to be "the sublimest music mortal man ever composed".¹⁸ A writer in the *Morning Post* in 1845 (probably Morris Barnett), after placing Beethoven above Mendelssohn on the grounds of greater "simplicity", continued:

And who shall be called a greater artist than Beethoven?—unless it be, indeed, divine Mozart, who to the simplicity we have eulogised in Beethoven, adds even more than the learning that astonishes us in Mendelssohn. Mozart must surely have been the Shakespeare of harmony—so human is he, so universal, so profoundly natural!¹⁹

Lastly, and perhaps most surprisingly of all to anyone whose knowledge of this period is derived from Walker, Fuller-Maitland and Hadow, we find J. W. Davison, the leading supporter in England of Mendelssohn and the 'Leipzig tradition', breaking into the middle of an encomium of 'Elijah' (which he says is superior even to 'Messiah') to inform his readers that "the greatest genius that the art of music has possessed" was not Mendelssohn but Mozart.²⁰

These quotations illustrate a body of opinion about Mozart which conclusively gives the lie to the theory that Handel and Mendelssohn were universally looked upon as the greatest composers at this time in England. Many of the opinions quoted were written at the period when Mendelssohn's fame was approaching its zenith. They show that in the minds of serious musicians the impression made by Mozart's music was too great to be effaced by the more ephemeral popularity of Mendelssohn. Hogarth wrote of Mozart in 1835 that "he could inspire tranquility and cheerfulness, but seldom gaiety, and never mirth . . . In all the comic pieces of Mozart, there is not a single air which speaks the language of comedy, without the aid of the words".²¹ Indeed, the men of this intensely serious age saw nothing of the lighter and more humorous side of his character: they thought of him as profound, emotional, solemn, even heavy. Two generations later this interpretation of Mozart had been exactly reversed, and he was looked on as little more than a light-hearted entertainer with a periwig. In the reaction against this more recent misconception we are apt to forget how far towards the opposite extreme opinion had moved in the early nineteenth century. Nowhere was Mozart's serious side emphasized more than in England. The Requiem and the Masses, including the spurious 'Twelfth Mass', were more highly esteemed than any of the operas except 'Don Giovanni'. Indeed Mozart was never popular either

¹⁸ *Musical World*, xxii (1847), p. 247; xx (1845), p. 302.

¹⁹ *Musical World*, xx (1845), p. 117.

²⁰ *Musical World*, xxii (1847), p. 422.

²¹ G. Hogarth, 'Musical History, Biography, and Criticism' (London, 1835), p. 266.

with Italian singers or with the aristocratic opera public. Catalani "detested Mozart's music, which keeps the singer too much under the control of the orchestra, and too strictly confined to time, which she is apt to violate".²² 'Don Giovanni', which after about 1830 was the only Mozart opera to be regularly performed, attracted quite a different audience from the regular one that came to hear Rossini or Donizetti—an audience drawn mainly "from the East of Pall Mall", as an observer noticed in 1837.²³ But Mozart was known most thoroughly by his instrumental music. Six of his symphonies, known as 'Nos. 1 to 6' in Cimador's numbering²⁴ and consisting roughly of those that are most famous today, were constantly performed, besides several overtures: the piano concertos, however, were less frequently heard. Many of the string quartets and a representative selection of other chamber music were also in the regular repertory.

Mozart's influence on English music was, so to speak, of the same character as his reputation in England. That is to say, it was slow to become established, but it pierced deep and lasted long; it was to be found in serious rather than frivolous music; and it affected church music and instrumental music more than opera and secular song. Some English operas of the late eighteenth century, by such composers as Storace, Kelly and Attwood (all pupils of Mozart), imitated Mozart's operas with some success. But in the hands of Bishop, who dominated English opera roughly from 1810 to 1834, the influence of Mozart quickly evaporated. Bishop soon found out what style he should mimic if he were to be successful.

I have shown briefly in an earlier article²⁵ how the idiom of Haydn and Mozart was the normal instrumental style in England in the early nineteenth century, in spite of Walker's statement to the contrary. But on top of this *lingua franca* we find superimposed, again and again, the imitation of Mozart's most personal idiosyncrasies. Sometimes it is some specific harmonic device that we recognize—a device not in itself peculiar to Mozart, but used in an unmistakably Mozartian way. Such, for example, is the Neapolitan sixth, frequently to be found at cadences in English music of the post-Mozartian period. An extract from Crotch's symphony in F (1814) shows this; the whole lay-out of the cadence derives from Mozart alone (see next page).

Again, the tonic pedal, particularly as part of the harmonization of a theme, commonly recalls Mozart. A good example is the close of

²² Lord Mount Edgcumbe, 'Reminiscences' (London, 4th ed., 1834), i, p. 229.

²³ *Musical World*, v (1837), p. 124.

²⁴ See *Music Review*, xxi (1960), p. 208, n. 4.

²⁵ See n. 1 above.



S. Wesley's symphony in B \flat (1802), where the tonic pedal begins with subdominant harmony and dies away to a prolonged feminine ending. Many other examples may be found in the music of Field, who was addicted to the tonic-pedal. Nocturne No. 2 in C minor ends with a characteristic example of it. Indeed the whole of the last page of this Nocturne evokes the same kind of pathos as Mozart's rare slow movements in the same key, especially the Andante of the piano concerto in E \flat , K.482. The resemblance is almost entirely harmonic. Other passages in the Nocturnes, similar in mood, recall Mozart: for instance, the D minor (No. 13 in the Peters edition).

It was the 'minor key' side of Mozart's character that seemed particularly to captivate Field and other English composers. The fiercely chromatic first movement of Field's sonata in C minor (Op. 1, no. 3) brings to mind Mozart's C minor piano sonata. This movement in turn influenced the last movement of G. F. Pinto's sonata in E \flat minor (Op. 3, no. 1). I quote here a beautiful passage from the slow movement of this sonata:



Another of Pinto's sonatas has been quoted elsewhere²⁶: the Neapolitan

²⁶ See Ex. 5 of the article cited in n. 1 above.

tan sixth in bar 3 of that example should be observed. Pinto's sonatas show Mozart's influence often, but never in parrot-like imitation. He had succeeded, as these examples can scarcely be adequate to show, in absorbing the influence of Mozart along with that of Field, Dussek and others, and in making them part of a style which was his and his alone. So much cannot be said of Cramer, who was apt to imitate Mozart more directly. A very early instance of this is in his first piano sonata, Op. 1, no. 1 (1788), where the harmony of the finale theme seems to be lifted straight from Mozart's A minor sonata, K. 310 (1778). More than one passage in his piano concertos is taken from Mozart's D minor concerto, whose rhythm and character seem to have made a particularly deep impression on English composers.

In other instances one can point to no specific feature of Mozart's style, and yet the general idiom of the passage could come from no other source. A particular kind of *andante* melody, calmly reflective in mood, square in form but with subtle variegation, was imitated most effectively by Cramer in countless slow movements, and also by S. Wesley and others. Imitation of Mozart's formal methods, particularly in the concerto, is also to be found often enough, notably in Field, Cramer and, later, Sterndale Bennett. All these three composers moved gradually towards Mozart's special treatment of the opening tutti in their concertos, just as Beethoven did in his first four. Another Mozartian characteristic is the recapitulation of the second subject, in sonata-form movements in the minor key, in the tonic minor (where Haydn and Beethoven tended to prefer the tonic major), and the necessary transformation of the theme from its original version in the relative major. This was frequently copied by English composers.

I have hitherto considered only the composers who wrote mainly in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The succeeding generation venerated Mozart still more. In their music Mozart's influence takes a more degenerate form, though it is still prominent enough. Walmisley, Ouseley, S. S. Wesley²⁷, and Sterndale Bennett all wrote early orchestral or chamber works in a thoroughly wishy-washy imitation of Mozart's style, utterly lacking the vigour of some of the earlier works I have mentioned and particularly weak in formal structure. Yet there is no mistaking whom they were trying to imitate. At that time (c. 1830) symphonies, string quartets or sonatas

²⁷ The one-movement symphony in C by S. S. Wesley cannot be dated. It survives only in a much later transcript by a copyist. But since it contains no trace of Wesley's mature style it was almost certainly a work of his youth.

by British composers had little chance of performance, so the youthful energies of these composers had to find another outlet. Walmisley, Ouseley and Wesley all became primarily composers of church music, and it is interesting to note that, except in Wesley's case, they transferred their style with little alteration from string quartet to anthem. The weaker church style of the early Victorian period is founded on Mozart. This undoubtedly fact has seldom been recognized. It is not difficult to trace a direct teacher-to-pupil succession from Mozart through Attwood and Walmisley to J. B. Dykes:

(a) Motet, 'Ave verum corpus' (K.618) Mozart

(b) Fantasia in F minor (K.608) Andante Mozart

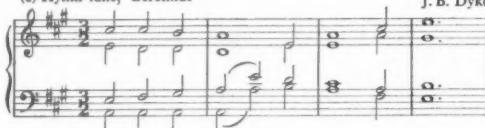
(c) Anthem, 'Come, Holy Ghost' T. Attwood

(d) Evening Service in D minor T. A. Walmisley



(e) Hymn-tune, 'Gerontius'

J. B. Dykes



With the exception of the motet 'Ave verum corpus', the works by Mozart which bear most resemblance to Victorian church music are some of the instrumental works of his late period. When one has realized this fact it is difficult to hear a Victorian anthem without thinking of it as a watered-down Mozart string quartet. The process of dilution continued through the later nineteenth-century revivalist hymn-tunes, and so, with many other influences added, to modern jazz, in which Mozart's eight-bar harmonic schemes still reign. Another offshoot of the early Victorian church style was Sullivan's serious idiom, to be found not only in his religious music but also, occasionally, in his operas. The choral outburst 'Hail, Poetry' in 'The Pirates of Penzance' would need very little alteration to turn it into a Mozart string quartet.

S. S. Wesley was the great exception. He was probably the only prominent early Victorian composer whose gifts really lay in the direction of church music. Walmisley and Ouseley were forced into it by circumstances, but were probably better suited to instrumental music: they had little or no feeling for word-setting. The same may well have been true of Goss, whose early orchestral music has not, however, survived. Much of Sterndale Bennett's church music suffers from the same weaknesses. But he alone of this group succeeded against all the odds in developing his talent as an instrumental composer. He saw clearly the danger of imitating the superficial characteristics of a composer's style without mastering its structural basis. Late in life he described his early decision to adopt Mozart as his model, and said that such an adoption must come as the result of "much self-control and patient study". He warned his hearers against the imitation of some specially fascinating characteristics of a

favourite composer.²⁸ This was precisely the trap into which some of his contemporaries had fallen. Perhaps it was analogous to the pitfalls into which the Gothic Revivalists stumbled. Bennett was in danger of falling into it himself, as may be seen in his string quartet (1831) and first two symphonies (1832, 1833). But by means of intense self-discipline he shook himself free of Mozartian mannerisms, and one seldom comes across actual reminiscences of Mozart in any of his music written after the age of seventeen. But the influence is there none the less—in Bennett's restraint and command of form, in his ability to avoid overstating his case while still retaining the capacity to surprise. It is seen most happily in his piano concertos. These are real masterpieces, terse, vigorous and passionate. The first two still show occasional examples of Mozart's direct influence: No. 1 is in D minor, and, as one might expect, it sometimes reminds one of Mozart's concerto in the same key. But it has a degree of self-assurance and polish astonishing in a boy of sixteen, and a sure grip of formal problems. The last movement of No. 2 is modelled on Mozart's $\frac{6}{8}$ finales.

No. 3 in C minor is the culmination of Bennett's youthful strength. The opening theme:



gives a sense of controlled power which the rest of the movement does not belie. (Its dotted rhythm is one of Bennett's individual characteristics, common to the main themes of all five of his surviving concertos.) The opening tutti is a model of controlled inspiration, falling not so very far short of Mozart himself. At its close, in the Mozartian manner, there is an unobtrusive little codetta theme:



²⁸ J. R. Sterndale Bennett, 'The Life of Sterndale Bennett' (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 22-5.



hardly noticed at the time but of great structural weight, since it also marks the end of the recapitulation. The piano enters dramatically in a foreign key. But there is not space here to analyse this excellent movement in full. The slow movement is not Mozartian. Its design is original and highly romantic, and in its themes Mendelssohn's influence makes its first appearance in Bennett's concertos. The two concertos in F minor, which were both called No. 4 but only the second of which was published, show little decline, if any, from the standard set in No. 3. In the second of them Bennett at last appreciates Mozart's point in keeping all the themes to the tonic key in the opening tutti, instead of stating the second subject group in the dominant or relative minor (as in Bennett's first four concertos). In the slow movement, the delightful and once well-known Barcarolle, some trace of Mozart's direct influence can again be seen. The Caprice in E major for piano and orchestra (1840) is a charming work in Bennett's fully Mendelssohnian idiom, but still with the Mozartian concision of form. Bennett's last work for this medium, called 'Concertstück' but really a full three-movement concerto, is lost.

Bennett's mastery of form is equally evident in his overtures, but in these he was more occupied with a kind of delicate water-colour Romanticism, having much in common with Mendelssohn, and Mozart's influence is a long way from the surface. It appears here and there in the piano pieces which make up the bulk of Bennett's work after 1838; and in his only late symphony, in G minor (1864), there is a touchingly direct reminder of Mozart in the main theme. The allusion to Mozart's G minor symphony can hardly be accidental.

There was a considerable increase in the amount of chamber music written in England after 1830, and much of it was quite in the Haydn-Mozart idiom. A wealthy amateur composer, J. L. Ellerton, wrote well over 50 string quartets, extending well into the 1860's, in which there is no trace whatever of Mendelssohn's influence. Often the style is strongly Mozartian, e.g. in Op. 61, no. 3 (see next page). Other composers who wrote in a more or less Mozartian idiom were C. E. Stephens and H. J. Westrop. There is a curiously unreal atmosphere about much of their music, but it is quite cleanly written



and amiable enough. But by the middle of the nineteenth century it was obviously no longer possible to write vigorous creative music in Mozart's style. An exception may be made for F. E. Bache's fine piano trio (1852), which, however, shows other influences as well as Mozart's. In short, the period from 1800 to 1840 might well be called the post-Mozartian era of English music. There was certainly no other composer who was so profoundly venerated by the English musicians of that period, nor one who so much affected English music.

BELLINI AND 'BEATRICE DI TENDA'

BY JOSEPH A. BOROMÉ

THE artistic life of Vincenzo Bellini was remarkable both for its brevity and for the success which he enjoyed. In a single decade, 1825-35, he composed all his eleven operas, six of which long continued to hold the stage.¹ This record was unmatched in their first ten productive years by any of his contemporaries. Only twice did he meet with failure. When '*Zaira*' (1829) sank into oblivion in Parma he accepted its fate with a shrug and salvaged many of its melodies by incorporating them into the deliriously applauded '*I Capuleti*'. But when '*Beatrice di Tenda*' failed he was stunned. He was at the height of his powers, triumphantly sailing the sea of praise with '*La sonnambula*' and '*Norma*'. The shock was therefore all the greater. As a sincere artist he was driven to soul-searching, and he charted a new course in '*I Puritani*'. Yet to his dying day he never ceased to feel that the failure of his tenth opera was unjustified.

On 5 January 1832, assured that '*Norma*' had an increasing hold on La Scala audiences, Bellini left Milan to visit friends and family in Naples and Sicily. Ovations greeted him everywhere. Four months of adulation bored and wearied him, and he set off on the northward journey home with a sense of relief. He paused for several days at Florence, charmed by the spell that only the capital of Tuscany can exert in the month of May. Here he encountered the manager of La Fenice, Alessandro Lanari. Lanari offered him a contract for an opera to be produced in Venice the following February.² After his usual lynx-eyed scrutiny of the financial terms Bellini signed. He reached Milan by June, happy in the thought that Lanari had guaranteed "the divine Pasta" as one of his singers.³

Once again, as he had done since the days of '*Il pirata*', he turned to Felice Romani for a libretto; and once again he ran into proverbial procrastination. Romani, undoubtedly the finest Italian librettist of the age, was also the most sought-after, despite a reputa-

¹ '*Il pirata*', '*I Capuleti*', '*La straniera*', '*La sonnambula*', '*Norma*' and '*I Puritani*'.

² In July 1830 Bellini had signed a contract with the manager of La Scala, Giuseppe Crivelli, who was in partnership with Alessandro Lanari, the manager of La Fenice. It required him to compose two operas for presentation at La Scala in the autumn season of 1831 and winter season of 1832 respectively. When Crivelli died in the summer of 1831 Lanari took over the contract. This was the contract which was renewed in May 1832 with the important change that the second opera (the first was '*Norma*') was to be written for Venice.

³ Francesco Pastura, '*Bellini secondo la storia*' (Parma, 1959), p. 338.

tion for keeping the hearts of managers and composers in their mouths by failing to produce his work to time. In view of their long collaboration Bellini seems to have expected preferential treatment. He did not get it. For two months he attempted to commit the poet to a subject. He was still empty-handed when on 10 August he departed for Bergamo to prepare the first performance of 'Norma' in that city. A month later he returned to Milan only to find Romani with cupboard bare and a graceful excuse: he was awaiting dramas from Paris. Once these arrived the two men had to select a story that could be built round Pasta, for the other singers of the Fenice company were not stars.

By 6 October they had settled upon Alexander Dumas's 'Christine; ou Stockholm, Fontainebleau, et Rome', which had had quite a respectable record of performances since its presentation in Paris on 30 March 1830, almost a month after Hugo's explosive 'Ernani'. It was a typical blood-and-thunder Romantic play in five acts with a prologue and an epilogue and a cast of twenty-two characters, including Charles Gustavus, Monaldeschi and Descartes. Faced with the formidable task of condensation, Romani agreed to give Bellini half the libretto in October and half in November. Bellini himself planned to begin writing on 8 October. Less than a month later, however, the Dumas drama had been dropped. On 15 September La Scala had inaugurated its season with the first local presentation of Mercadante's 'Caritea, Regina di Spagna'. The opening night had included a ballet by Antonio Monticini based on the unhappy tale of Beatrice di Lascari, familiar to cultivated Milanese through the histories of Andrea Biglia and Giuseppe Ripamonti and the 1825 tragedy by Tedaldi Fores.

When the powerful *condottiere* Facino Cane died, he left his vast estate of cities, troops and treasure to his wife Beatrice, Countess of Tenda. With her inheritance as a dowry Beatrice married Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447), Duke of Milan, an ambitious man who was younger than herself. The marriage gave Filippo the money and men he needed to defeat his enemies and consolidate his hold on Lombardy and part of Piedmont. But it gave Beatrice little except heartache, for Filippo soon resented his indebtedness to her and tired of her ageing charms. He fell in love with Agnese del Maino, one of his wife's ladies-in-waiting. Agnese became his mistress, though she was enamoured of a noble at court, Orombello di Ventimiglia. Orombello himself was in love with Beatrice, who suspected nothing and was faithful to her husband. To rid himself of Beatrice, Filippo falsely charged her with adultery and plotting his overthrow together

with Orombello. She was tried and condemned to death, though she pleaded innocence, and was executed in Binasco.

Monticini's ballet proved so popular that the management joined it to every opera performance for a month and a half. One October evening Bellini and Giuditta Pasta emerged from La Scala after a performance, apparently, of Mercadante's 'Ismalia'. They had both been enormously impressed by the ballet. Pasta, with her fine sense of the theatre, envisaged a wonderful role for her talents. She specially liked the closing scene. It recalled the closing scene in two very successful operas of her career: Carlo Coccia's 'Maria Stuarda' (1827) and Donizetti's 'Anna Bolena', which she had sung since its première in 1830 with electrifying effect on audiences. The Beatrice plot also appealed to Bellini. He had never really cared for 'Cristina di Svezia', and it had not taken him long to feel that it was not a work to inspire him to his best. Masking his lukewarmness for 'Cristina' with Pasta's enthusiasm for 'Beatrice', he endeavoured to persuade Romani to change the subject of their libretto. It was not an opportune moment. Romani, in the midst of a time-consuming love affair, was snowed under with literary and journalistic work, and was engaged to write librettos that season for Carlo Coccia ('Caterina di Guisa'), Andrea Majocchi ('Il segreto'), Mercadante ('Il Conte di Essex') and Donizetti ('Parisina').⁴ Besieged by commitments on all sides he was finding it difficult to keep his head above water. Not without reason did Donizetti, usually a model of patience, soon write to his father in exasperation over the 'Parisina' that had not arrived: "Find me a theatrical poet less of a rascal than Romani in keeping his word and I will offer him 100 *scudi* to make a good book".⁵

For artistic as well as personal reasons Romani was reluctant to accede to Bellini's request. He argued that the final scene of 'Beatrice' would dangerously parallel the final scene he had written for 'Anna Bolena', and that Pasta would sing both: public appeal would be dulled. Even his subtle hint that Bellini might be inviting comparison with Donizetti, of whom he was pathetically jealous, had no effect. Bellini called on his ever-ready powers of flattery. He was confident that a man of Romani's great abilities would be able to vary the final scene so that it did not resemble the one in 'Anna Bolena'. Meanwhile he induced his mistress Giuditta Turina, the wife of the

⁴ These works were presented respectively on 14 February 1833 at La Scala, 26 February at Il Ducale in Parma, 10 March at La Scala, and 17 March at La Pergola in Florence.

⁵ Guido Zavadini, 'Donizetti' (Bergamo, 1948), p. 304. This was not a novel situation for Donizetti: he had received the libretto for 'Anna Bolena' forty days before its first presentation.

wealthy landowner Ferdinando Turina, to intercede with Romani as she had once done in the past. Conceivably Pasta also added her pleas. By November Romani had capitulated: annoyed at having to discard verses already laboured over, he promised a libretto but did nothing. For more than a month Bellini awaited Romani's pleasure. About 7 December he left for Venice with Pasta to supervise the Fenice's initial performance of 'Norma', which was to open the season. The rehearsals, which began on 10 December, two days after his arrival, showed him at once that the singers surrounding Pasta were as mediocre as he had supposed.

He was now almost unnerved, not so much by the anxieties flowing from artistic integrity nor by the probable desire to equal the outstanding success of 'I Capuleti' in the same house in 1830, but by the haunting fear that nothing would be ready for 'Beatrice'. The 20 February was moving relentlessly closer and still he had no libretto. Desperate, he appealed to Lanari. The manager hurried a protest to the Governor of Venice. It was transmitted to the Governor of Milan and Romani was summoned forthwith to police headquarters. Smothering his indignation at being sent for by the hated Austrian authorities who ruled Venetia and Lombardy, the proud Genoese and free citizen of Piedmont argued that Bellini had changed the subject and that he himself had obligations to the Milan theatres. Breathing fire, he repaired to Venice in January. As the first order of business he demanded an explanation from Bellini and Lanari in turn. He was met with an elegant example of Tweedledum pointing to Tweedledee. After "honeyed words from one and a sigh from the other" had somewhat calmed his resentment, he shut himself up in his lodgings to pen his *melodramma*.⁶

The fact that Romani had pointedly avoided boarding with Bellini was not an encouraging sign. The two collaborators had had disagreements in the past, some of them rather heated, but they had always stayed under the same roof when working together away from Milan. So slowly did Romani write that by 15 January Bellini had received only two pieces—the duet between Agnese and Orombello, and Beatrice's cavatina. Twelve days later the hapless composer was hoping "to begin the finale to Act I tomorrow, if Romani will give it to me".⁷ The dilatoriness of "the God of Laziness" soon reduced Bellini to pure despair.⁸ As late as 17 February he still had "to compose the entire second act!!!".⁹ The Fenice management

⁶ Luisa Cambi, 'Vincenzo Bellini epistolario' (Milan, 1943), p. 351.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 331.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

postponed the première until 6 March. The tension that usually gripped Bellini in the throes of writing was heightened by the web of circumstance. Bellini was no Donizetti. He could not—and would not—turn out an opera in ten days.¹⁰ He required time for composing and for polishing. 'Zaira' had been born in haste and he well knew the result.¹¹ Even as he struggled to write 'Beatrice' he felt the sword of a "great fiasco" hanging over his head.¹² All the while relations between himself and Romani deteriorated rapidly. Bellini was deeply hurt at his associate's conduct and, in self-protection, adopted an Olympian attitude toward the librettist and abandoned the *tu* form in addressing him. Added personal turmoil came in the person of Giuditta Turina.

Shortly after reaching Venice Bellini was told that Giuditta had entertained a gentleman in her Milan home until two o'clock in the morning. Furious, the jealous lover ordered her to appear in Venice. She wrote declaring her innocence and her ability to produce witnesses. It availed nothing: Bellini insisted absolutely. Giuditta found herself in a difficult and delicate situation. Her husband had recently received "an anonymous letter" about their liaison.¹³ While he had dismissed it as mere slander, he did not wish her to give currency to rumour by going to Venice. But Bellini, agonized over 'Beatrice', needed Giuditta, and she could not bring herself to deny him. With a fateful abandonment of discretion she wrung consent from Ferdinando and hastened to Venice. When she arrived Bellini treated her "very badly", but that storm soon passed.¹⁴ Clouds appeared, however, from another quarter.

The audiences at La Fenice had shown increasing impatience with the inadequacies of the *basso* Federico Crespi. Bellini, who had tolerated him in the role of Oroveso, realized, as soon as the 'Beatrice' rehearsals began, that Crespi simply would not do for Filippo. At his insistence Orazio Cartagenova was sent for. This last-minute switch forced Romani and himself to adapt at least three pieces to meet the new singer's voice. Once again the première was postponed. Discontent, fanned by the press, rose among the Venetian public. The Fenice management had originally announced that its season would open on 26 December with 'Norma', to be followed by Persiani's

¹⁰ In June 1834 he wrote to Giovanni Ricordi, with obvious reference to Donizetti: "Is it not possible that I too could write four operas in one year? However, I would ruin my reputation and suffer remorse for having cheated those who pay me" (*Ibid.*, p. 409).

¹¹ It took him three months to write 'Norma', and even then he used some music previously composed—for 'Bianca e Fernando' and 'Ernani', for example.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 335.

¹³ Pastura, *op. cit.*, p. 676.

¹⁴ *loc. cit.*

'Eufemio da Messina', Rossini's 'Otello' and Bellini's 'Beatrice'. Fortune had not favoured them. Persiani's work had died with its first performance; Rossini's 'Tancredi' had hastily replaced 'Beatrice' in February; and then Donizetti's 'L'elisir d'amore', offered in March to sweeten the further delay of 'Beatrice', had met with an unfavourable reception. As the end of the season drew closer and the monotonous procession of old operas continued, grumbles were heard against the management and against Bellini.

On 13 March a letter appeared in the *Gazzetta privilegiata* asking, with naïve trepidation, when the new Bellini opera was to be given. The letter, bearing the date of the first 'Beatrice' postponement (6 March) came supposedly from 'A.B.', a subscriber in Fonzaso, a remote little mountain village. Actually it originated with the editor Tommaso Locatelli, employing the general expedient of the fictitious character who comments upon conditions. In answering the letter from Fonzaso, whose inhabitants would have been surprised to learn there was even an opera in Venice, Locatelli pretended to be defending Lanari and Bellini. With great urbanity he cited the 'new opera' delays of the previous years: 'I Capuleti' (1830) given five or six times, 'Benjowski' (1831) given four or five times, 'Ivanhoe' (1832) given three or four times. Not only was delay not unusual but, judging by the law of diminishing performances that seemed operative, 'Beatrice' would come in for two or three performances. Of course, he slyly warned, one could never be sure. It might be postponed until the next year, so that Bellini might polish it up. After all, a year was not too long a period for composing an opera like 'Beatrice', which Bellini had promised to take to London. What was more natural than that the composer should wish it to be as perfect as possible when it crossed the English Channel?¹⁵ These shafts fell on public opinion additionally stirred by talk that Bellini had dared to criticize Rossini's music at the rehearsals of 'Tancredi'.¹⁶ Meanwhile the pro-Pasta and anti-Pasta forces of the city, determined to wipe out the incomplete victory at the 'Norma' première, girded themselves for 'Beatrice'.

On the evening of 16 March La Fenice was crowded to suffoca-

¹⁵ Rumour had it that the London contract which Bellini signed in the spring of 1833 provided for presentations of 'Beatrice'. As an outcome of its unfortunate première, 'I Capuleti' was substituted (Pastura, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-381).

¹⁶ Both Arthur Pougin, in his 'Bellini, sa vie, ses œuvres' (Paris, 1868), p. 128, and Antonino Amore, in his 'Bellini-Arte' (Catania, 1892), p. 233, mention this rumour in disbelief, adducing Bellini's admiration for Rossini's music. Bellini did not admire all Rossini's output, and he was not generous in judging the works of his contemporaries. However, he was always extremely tactful in expressing his feelings publicly. If he made a private remark, it is unlikely that its spread throughout Venice was a major factor in affecting the fate of 'Beatrice'.

tion. Outside the theatre the weather was bad, and inside the mood of the audience hardly better. Those who had purchased the libretto were brought up even sharper by the last lines of the preface, where Romani spoke rather depreciatively of his work as a 'fragment' and insinuated that the blame did not rest on him. The long-suffering Venetians knew whom to blame. When Bellini entered the pit to take the accustomed place for first-night composers he was greeted with whistles. He sat down and waited for the first notes to silence the house. He waited in vain: the overture and the first part of Act I were played amid chatter, laughter and kisses. Bellini thought he was at a fair. Though boiling with rage, he managed to muster his "Sicilian pride" and affect outward composure.¹⁷ Occasionally he turned a stony face on the audience, but this had no quietening effect. When Pasta, who was always greeted with deafening applause, made her initial entrance there was not a handclap. Indeed, no sooner had she begun her cavatina than cries of "Norma! Norma!" broke out in parts of the theatre. (With great skill, it is said, she varied the repetition.)¹⁸ Pasta waited her opportunity. On reaching the line in the duet with Filippo, "Se amar non puo, rispettami" (if you cannot love me, at least respect me), she turned and sang it with full force directly to the audience.¹⁹ Stunned, they fell silent. At the end of the scene they gave her an ovation. The tension had been broken. Unpleasant noises subsided considerably and the opera ran its course. The second act, apart from the quintet, disappointed everyone, and its closing scene fell flat. Still, occasional shouts were heard for the composer. Bellini, outraged at the behaviour of the public, remained glued to his chair and refused to appear on the stage.

Two days later Locatelli published his *Gazzetta* review in the form of another letter to 'A.B.' of Fonzaso. He dwelt on the fiasco and the purloining from 'Norma'. By emphasizing the sumptuous staging of 'Beatrice' he obliquely absolved the Fenice management, leaving Bellini with the stigma of having delayed the opera. Bellini was furious at the fiasco caused by "factors having nothing to do with the merit of the opera" and at the imputation that he had copied 'Norma'.²⁰ To show up the "impudent ignoramuses" he despatched a lithographed comparison of two pieces—'Ma la sola, ohimè' from 'Beatrice' and 'In mia man' from 'Norma'—and also two accompaniments to the *Gazzetta*.²¹ In the very same issue a

¹⁷ Cambi, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

¹⁸ Amcre, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

¹⁹ Maria Ferranti-Guilini, 'Guiditta Pasta e i suoi tempi' (Milan, 1935), p. 156.

²⁰ Cambi, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

²¹ *loc. cit.*

friend of the composer hustled forward with a letter exonerating Bellini and blaming Romani, and informed the readers of the police episode, to the point of citing one of the documents by its official number.

This published letter soon reached Milan and the eyes of Romani. Stung to the quick, he replied in the *Gazzetta* with a waspish and lengthy polemic, which he revised into a stronger and more detailed rejoinder on 1 April and sent to the *Eco* of Milan.²² In both letters he ascribed the changing of the original subject that had delayed the opera to Bellini's infatuation with women. The second letter, in fact, implicated not only Giuditta Turina, but Giuditta Pasta:

I was supposed to give Maestro Bellini a melodrama, and not a libretto . . . Either Minerva was cruel to him, or another goddess took the place of Minerva, for July passed, August passed, September went and October came, and finally November, and that blessed subject had not yet been found. In addition Bellini had disappeared. The new Rinaldo was idling on the island of Armida . . . When Heaven so desired, he came forth; but the time had passed; and previous engagements, which I could not neglect, put me under the necessity of refusing him my work. Nevertheless, since he implored and re-implored me . . . I began to compose . . . 'Cristina di Svezia'. One fine morning Bellini's Minerva abandoned her severity and suggested the subject of Beatrice Tenda to him, and another fine morning my affection for Bellini and my respect for his Minerva forced me to the sacrifice of accepting it.

The consternation this letter caused in Milanese circles which knew that Bellini's mistress was Giuditta Turina is easily imagined.

In the midst of the uproar Bellini returned to Milan, having left Venice on 28 March with Pasta, after the sixth performance of 'Beatrice' (24 March) had closed the Fenice season.²³ He contented himself with the consolation of friends like Mercadante and maintained complete public silence. He prepared to fulfil a London contract concluded before the 'Beatrice' failure by consigning his house, furniture and some money to Giuditta Turina's care. With a strange feeling of presentiment he forwarded all his portraits to his closest friend Francesco Florimo in Naples. When, about 10 April, he set out for England with Pasta and her husband, the 'Beatrice' controversy was still quite alive in Milan. Individuals hastened to answer Romani, among them Pietro Marinetti (doubtless the pen-

²² The Venice letter by "a friend of M. Bellini", dated 23 March, was quickly reprinted in the 27 March issue of the *Gazzetta di Milano*. Hence Romani's rebuttal on home ground.

²³ The box office receipts for the second and third performances, and presumably the others, had not been negligible. The opera apparently grew in favour and the public applauded the composer loudly. Real enthusiasm, however, was reserved not for the music but for Pasta's singing.

name of a friend of Bellini's), who lectured Romani in the *Barbiere di Siviglia* on conduct unbecoming a gentleman, and the editor, Giacinto Battaglia, who deplored the washing of two artists' dirty linen in public in a manner beneath that of "feminine gossip".²⁴ Romani, not to be outdone, wrote another letter decapitating one and all, and with abject cruelty accused Bellini of fleeing from the scene of battle. In the cafés and public places of the city he did his best to pulverize Bellini's name and disparage his intelligence. Those who remembered his savage attacks on Manzoni's 'I promessi sposi' were not impressed.

The whole affair was sad. The liaison with Giuditta Turina, who had inspired 'La sonnambula' and 'Norma', ended for ever. Before June scandal broke when Ferdinando unceremoniously put his wife out of doors and sued for separation: he had evidence in the shape of compromising letters which Bellini had written to her after his departure. Bellini's love evaporated before the public tempest. His correspondence with Giuditta dropped off, and he turned his attention to the pursuit of a wealthy wife. He himself, for several reasons, including faintheartedness in the face of possible condemnation for Giuditta's plight, never returned to Milan or his native country. The long collaboration with Romani that had given the world the succession of operas from 'Il pirata' came to a close. In 1834, through a common friend, Bellini tried for a reconciliation with Romani. After four months of silence Romani replied, accepting friendship. But he never communicated with the composer again, despite Bellini's repeated plea that they should resume their collaboration.²⁵

The ill winds of 'Beatrice' blew good in at least one respect. Out of his mortification at rumours that he was creatively exhausted Bellini, who was deadly serious about his art, went on to a re-examination of himself and his techniques that led to 'I Puritani'. But he never resigned himself to the failure of 'Beatrice'. Three months after the Venice première it was performed in Milan. The following year it won polite welcomes in Palermo, Catania and Naples. Bellini was not satisfied. He hoped Maria Malibran would sing it, for he felt certain she would make the public realize its true worth; but that was not to be.

Encouraged by Giovanni Ricordi, Bellini intended to revise the

²⁴ Cambi, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

²⁵ Frank Walker, 'Lettere disperse e inedite di Vincenzo Bellini', *Rivista del Comune di Catania*, 8th year, No. 4 (October-December 1960), pp. 13-14. On the death of Bellini, Romani delivered remarks best received in the spirit of the adage *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. In 1837 he made another edition of 'Beatrice' for Trieste, calling it 'Il castello d'Ursino'.

entire score.²⁶ No one realized better than he that the second act, except for the quintet, was weak. Its last scenes, which Romani took pains to keep from resembling 'Anna Bolena' by adding the pardon *terzetto* 'Angiol di pace', ought to have moved him to supreme music. They were made-to-order Bellinian moments that might have ranked with those of the 'Norma' finale which transported Schopenhauer into ecstasy. Yet precisely at this point Bellini floundered. Hastening pell-mell to be ready in time, he cut an extended duet between Beatrice and Agnese to a shadow, and ended the opera with a mediocre *cabaletta*—all of which compromised the dramatic effect.²⁷ He intended to begin his revision with the second act, and carried the autograph sketches and unfinished pieces to London and Paris. After the fatigue of composing 'I Puritani' had passed, he presumably hoped to use them in re-working the much marked-up autograph score. Death, however, took him in September 1835.

'Beatrice' made its way, after his passing, to London, Rome and Paris.²⁸ Its melodies were strummed on the pianos of the Continent. Though Liszt confined his transcriptions to 'La sonnambula', 'Norma' and 'I Puritani', Czerny, Thalberg and others took up 'Beatrice'.²⁹ Even "jeunes pianistes" had selections arranged by Ferdinand Beyer; and if we may believe the legend, Chopin asked to have the final *cabaletta* 'Ah se un'urna' sung as he lay dying.³⁰ 'Beatrice' crossed the Atlantic to be first presented in the United States at New Orleans in 1842. New York heard it two years later and again in 1847. Thereafter no American performances were chronicled for more than a hundred years. Throughout a good part of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries 'Beatrice' lay forgotten.³¹ In 1935 Catania inaugurated its Bellini commemoration

²⁶ On 4 October 1834 he wrote to Francesco Florimo asking him to alter the instrumentation of the *stretta* of Act I (Cambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-442).

²⁷ Pastura, 'Un duetto inedito della Beatrice di Tenda', *La Scala*, No. 18 (March 1951), pp. 44-48, analyses the manuscript of this duet, and reprints this article almost *verbatim* in his 'Bellini', pp. 573-580. When Vittorio Gui was preparing the Palermo revival of 1959 he omitted the closing *cabaletta* and had the opera end *pianissimo* after the chorus had sung *sotto voce* the pardon theme 'Angiol di pace' (Vittorio Gui, 'Beatrice di Tenda', *Musica d'oggi*, n.s., year ii, no. 5, May 1959, p. 197).

²⁸ London first heard it in 1836, Rome in January 1838, and Paris in February 1841: Dennis Arundell, 'The Critic at the Opera' (London 1957), p. 324; Jean Chantavoine, 'Bellini a Parigi', in Ildebrando Pizzetti (ed.), 'Bellini' (Milan, [1936]), p. 201; Vittorio Gui, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²⁹ Czerny composed a 'Fantasie . . . sur les motifs favoris' while Thalberg wrote both a 'Fantasie pour le piano sur des motifs' and a 'Grand duo pour piano et violin sur . . . Beatrice'.

³⁰ Some say it was 'Ah! non credea mirarti' from 'La sonnambula'. Eye-witness accounts are silent on the subject.

³¹ Thus there were performances in Milan (1835, 1841, 1843, 1845) and Rome (1838, 1839, 1840, 1844, 1863 and 1879). The Paris statistics show it was given four times in 1841, three times in 1844, twice in 1845, once in 1854, and three times in 1856.

at the Teatro Massimo Bellini with a handsome mounting. This did not persuade opera managements to make similar attempts. Twenty-four years later Palermo revived 'Beatrice', under Vittorio Gui, for the Teatro Massimo. Times had changed. With the appearance of singers in the Pasta-Malibran tradition, interest in the early operas of the nineteenth century had revived. It was this operatic generation, familiar through long-playing records with the music of Cherubini's 'Medea', Spontini's 'La Vestale', Donizetti's 'Anna Bolena' and Bellini's 'Il pirata', that attended with interest the concert revival of 'Beatrice' in New York by the American Opera Society in February 1961 and the staging at La Scala in Milan three months later.²²

A revival almost inevitably raises the question whether the verdict of history has been just. Commentators on Bellini's music agree that 'Beatrice' is not a masterpiece to rank with 'Norma'. They then proceed along different paths. Some, like Pannain, wave it aside as having little positive historic interest. Others hold with Vittorio Gui that the very opposite is true. They point to the abundance of beautiful melodies, the advance beyond 'Norma' in instrumentation and the variety of harmonies, and the increased role given to the orchestra. They also point to Bellini's use of forceful dialogue and his handling of dramatic scenes.

The characters in order of appearance are:

Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan	Baritone
Agnese del Maino, mistress of Filippo and secretly in love with	Mezzo-soprano
Orombello, Lord of Ventimiglia	Tenor
Beatrice di Tenda, wife of Filippo	Soprano
Rizzardo del Maino, Agnese's brother and Filippo's confidant	Bass
Anichino, formerly minister of Facino Cane, Beatrice's first husband, and friend of Orombello	Tenor
Courtiers, Judges, Officials, Knights, Ladies, Maids of Honour, and Soldiers.	

The prelude, limited to four pages of the vocal score, departs from the usual overture form to set forth in rapid succession and in the same key three different themes that recur during the opera. The first, of Rossinian cast, is associated with pleading for mercy:



²² In both instances the leading role was sung by Joan Sutherland.

The second, vigorous and courtly, later introduces Beatrice's maids of honour as they enter the ducal gardens:



The third is Beatrice's prayer:



ACT I

The curtain rises on a courtyard in the castle of Binasco, a city which Beatrice inherited from her first husband Facino Cane. Filippo meets with his courtiers and complains at his shame in having to share the reins of government with a woman. As they are urging him in a repetitious and 'Rigoletto'-type chorus to act resolutely, the voice of Agnese is heard from within the palace singing a sweet song on the power of true love:



Fired by her words Filippo determines to rid himself of Beatrice:



The second scene takes place within the palace just before sunrise. In her room Agnese awaits Orombello, to whom she has sent an anonymous note, inviting him to follow the sound of lute music. He enters and is surprised to see her and not Beatrice, whom he rashly hoped had written the note. Agnese gently tells him she knows that he is in love, having watched him closely at court. Orombello is embarrassed to admit it, and Agnese assumes his

reluctance is due to his affection for her and respect for her position. She presses him further in a pleasant duet, and in a moment of confusion he lets slips the name of Beatrice. Agnese feels humiliated. She swears revenge despite Orombellio's pleas for forgiveness.

The day has dawned and Beatrice comes into the ducal garden with her maids of honour (second theme of the prelude) to escape the palace atmosphere, which depresses her. She is sad at the loss of her husband's love and the suspicion that he has a mistress. Bellini's music rises to a superior level as her attendants try to comfort her in a felicitous chorus which, though charming in its harmonies and delicately scored, ends in a lively enough fashion. But Beatrice can only lament that she has allowed her people to fall under Filippo's subjection:

Largo sostenuto

Ma la so - la, ohi-mè! ohi - mè! son i - o che pe -
- nar, che pe - nar per lui si ye - da?

Still, she entrusts herself to Heaven's mercy and help in a *cabaletta* which towards the close of each verse has a twice-repeated *sostenuto* passage of breath-taking beauty:

Allegro moderato

Ah! la pe - na in lor piom - bò, dell' a - mor che mi per - dè

The attendants leave; Filippo, who with Rizzardo has been watching from away, draws near. He reproaches Beatrice with avoiding him out of loathing and hatred. No, she replies; if she avoids him, it is because she is jealous of the love he now gives to another:²³

Allegro moderato

Duo - lo d'un cor pia - ga - to,

²³ Bellini transferred these passages with slight variations from 'Zaira'.



Filippo retorts that she is jealous only of her power. He then calls her disloyal and produces a portfolio of documents which Agnese had stolen and given him. The documents are petitions from Facino Cane's vassals, including Orombello, who are discontented with Filippo's rule. Filippo accuses Beatrice of aiding his rebellious subjects and loving Orombello. Beatrice indignantly rejects her husband's accusations and begs for her papers. Filippo refuses. The orchestra underlines the excitement of the scene with a rhythmic pattern that leads to a spirited close.

The next scene takes place in a remote gallery in the castle. A troop of knights appear, discussing their orders to spy on Orombello in music whose accompaniment seems no stranger to ears familiar with passages in the second act of 'Norma' (after the words "Roma!! Ed è? prosegui"). As they depart Beatrice enters. Before a statue of her first husband she grieves over her intemperate marriage in elegiac music that soars to Heaven (third theme of the prelude). Orombello arrives and overhears her last words. He informs her that he has gathered forces at Tortone, where Facino Cane's vassals await Beatrice's word in order to rise to her defence against Filippo. He asks her to flee with him that very night. Beatrice replies that she cannot entrust her defence to him. His concern for her might be thought to be motivated by passion. Her name and honour must be preserved. When he confesses that he does indeed love her, she orders him away. He throws himself at her feet to beg for forgiveness. Suddenly Filippo and the entire court appear. The Duke openly accuses his wife of infidelity. The grand finale begins with a Rossinian *largo* that ends in a majestic, flowing line:



Filippo orders Orombello and Beatrice to be arrested. Orombello tries to protest that Beatrice is innocent, but Filippo cuts him short. Beatrice asks repeatedly if no man present has the courage to defend her honour: she commends her cause to God, and after a rather bombastic *stretta* the act closes as she and Orombello are placed under arrest.

ACT II

In a great hall of the castle, fitted up as a tribunal, Beatrice's maids of honour ask how so infamous a trial can be held. They are told by the courtiers, in solemn accents, how Orombello, under torture, confessed his guilt and implicated Beatrice. A dramatic pause interrupts the music for almost two bars, as the chorus bemoans the inevitable fate of Beatrice. Anichino enters with Filippo and entreats mercy for Beatrice, especially since her subjects have become restless at the latest news. Filippo answers by sending soldiers to the gates of the city with orders to admit no one, and mounts his throne. The judges arrive and take their places with Rizzato as presiding officer. Members of the Court fill the hall, among them Agnese, conscience-stricken in this moment of triumph. After Filippo has addressed the judges Beatrice is led in by guards. She refuses to recognize the authority of the judges since they are her vassals, and she implores Filippo not to dishonour her name with baseless charges. Orombello, weakened by torture, is brought in: confronted with the stoic Beatrice he repudiates his confession and declares her innocent. Then begins, after an extended repetition of the first theme of the prelude, the great quintet—the finest writing in the score:

Larghetto

Al tuo fil - lo am-men - da fe - sti, ge - ne -
- ro - sa in - a - spet - ta - ta

It is the type of melodic dialogue, at once uniform and varied, in which Bellini had excelled in 'Norma'. During the quintet he builds up an impressive crescendo by having the orchestra accompany the voices with an eightfold repetition of the first theme of the prelude. The musical line broadens, and the ensemble moves towards a climax, sonorous and effective. All Orombello's hearers are moved

except the judges. They demand that the law be satisfied by a new trial after both of the prisoners have been put to torture. Orombello and Beatrice are taken away and the judges and Court depart. Agnese, full of remorse, pleads with Filippo to pardon Beatrice, who, she is convinced, is innocent. He orders her to go but cannot calm his own doubts. Anichino soon tells him Beatrice has not confessed, nevertheless the judges have condemned her to death. Only his signature is needed to carry out the sentence. Filippo hesitates and is about to tear up the death warrant when the courtiers rush in to say that Beatrice's armed subjects are at the outer walls demanding her freedom. Filippo signs.

The final scene takes place in a hall leading to the prisons of the castle. Beatrice's ladies and friends mourn the unhappy tidings in a noteworthy chorus. Beatrice comes from prison on her way to execution. She affirms her innocence and asks divine punishment for Filippo and his accomplices. A distraught Agnese rushes in and confesses her guilt to Beatrice. Beatrice's terrible anger is stayed when, from a distant tower, the dying Orombello is heard granting pardon to his enemies:³⁴



There follows a brief but admirable *terzetto*. Moved by Orombello's utterance Beatrice follows his example. A funeral march is heard and officials enter. As they surround Beatrice, Agnese faints. Before she is led away Beatrice begs the women to decorate her tomb with flowers and welcomes death with honour.³⁵

All in all, 'Beatrice' contains a fair share of very creditable music. May it not be that the blame for its failure should rest on shoulders other than Bellini's? Because of the Romani affair, biographers of Bellini have tended to pounce on the libretto. Truth to tell, it is not inferior to others of the day, being a typical Renaissance plot, popular then and now. Romani knew what he was about and Bellini himself thought he received "good poetry."³⁶ Nowhere,

³⁴ This theme too Bellini sketched from 'Zaira'.

³⁵ The aria finale 'Ah se un'urna' was a Rossinian melody which Bellini took from his own 'Bianca e Fernando'.

³⁶ Cambi, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

however, did the composer express prolonged personal enthusiasm for the subject, holding indeed that Filippo's character was repulsive:

I confess the subject is horrible; but . . . I tried with my music to modify and minimize the disgust the character of Filippo arouses.²⁷

What the libretto did lack was the important traditional element of sensual love between tenor and soprano. The only opportunity they had was a *duettino* that finished before it had begun. Since contemporary criticism made no point of the resemblance to 'Anna Bolena' (Henry VIII and Filippo, Jane Seymour and Agnese, Percy and Orombello, Anna and Beatrice) this aspect probably appeared unimportant to the public.

Romani's conduct before and after the affair leaves a bad taste in the mouth, and can only incline the observer to sympathize with Bellini. It is more than possible that, by adding to the high tension under which the composer lived in Venice, it was he, more than any single person or factor, who accounted for the failure of Bellini to produce a work worthy of his mature years. The opera failed in its day, and it is not difficult to predict a cloudy future for it after the revivals of our time. The score shows on almost every page that Bellini was moving from the instrumentation of 'Norma' to that more fully revealed in 'I Puritani'. Occasionally the music strikes fire and soars above earth. When it does Bellini is true to his gifts. Too often, however, it coasts along on a good melody that might have been better. The pieces of the opera do not fit together (some seem mere space-fillers); they are not fused together to make a whole. 'Beatrice' failed because the gossip and turbulence surrounding Bellini did not allow him to commune with his muse as was his wont. Had he lived to rewrite it to his satisfaction he would undoubtedly have transformed it into a glowing work and repeated the vindication of 'Zaira'.

²⁷ Cambi, *op. cit.*, p. 395. It is necessary here to note that Bellini did not say the libretto "stank of murder", as is sometimes stated. He used that phrase only in relation to the preface which Romani wrote for the libretto.

A CONTINENTAL MASS AND MOTET IN A TUDOR MANUSCRIPT

BY LEWIS LOCKWOOD

THE manuscript part-books 40, 41, 31, 32 of Peterhouse, Cambridge constitute one of the principal surviving sources of early Tudor sacred music. What was originally a set of five part-books is unfortunately now defective: the entire tenor is missing, and the *triplex* (40) is complete for only 52 of the 71 compositions found in the other part-books. Yet what remains is important enough to have served as a source for a number of compositions published in 'Tudor Church Music' and for the recent edition of the Masses of Fayrfax, and impressive enough in its range of contents to have elicited the remark by Dom Anselm Hughes that, if the tenor could be found, "this set would rank without peer as the largest contemporary collection of Henrician church music".¹ Dom Anselm and Frank Ll. Harrison have advanced independent arguments for assigning the compilation of the set to c. 1540-1547, and while further investigation may eventually narrow this down still further, it seems clear that the collection could not have been assembled later than 1547, the last year of the reign of Henry VIII, but was nevertheless made late enough to have permitted the inclusion of works by younger as well as older English composers.² The entire collection, its contents fully recorded by Dom Anselm in his 'Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse', contains 19 Masses, seven Magnificat settings, and 45 lesser sacred pieces with Latin texts. Of the 28 composers named, the leading figures are Fayrfax and Taverner, each with eleven compositions; on the periphery are 17 composers with but one each³, and in between, Ludford, Aston, Mason, Tallis, Hunt, Pygott, Jones, Pasche and 'Lupus Italus'.

Amid this array of obviously English composers the name 'Lupus Italus' stands alone, and although the collection as a whole would

¹ 'An Introduction to Fayrfax', *Musica Disciplina*, vi (1952), p. 92.

² Dom Anselm Hughes, 'Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse' (Cambridge, 1953), p. ix; F. Ll. Harrison, 'Music in Medieval Britain' (London, 1958), pp. 336, 341. See also Harrison, 'English Polyphony (c. 1470-1540)' in 'The New Oxford History of Music', iii, p. 332.

³ Alen, Appelby, Bramston, Catcott, Chamberlayne, Dark, Edwards, Erley, Martin, Knight, Marbeck, Norman, Northroke, Rasar, Sturmys, Tye and Whitbroke. Two compositions are anonymous.

merit a thorough investigation, this article directs attention solely to the two compositions—the motet 'Aspice Domine' and the Mass 'Surrexit pastor bonus'—that have been repeatedly attributed to this elusive figure on the basis of the Peterhouse manuscripts. In the course of studies in Continental parody compositions of this period it was accidentally observed that this small corner of the Tudor repertory, hitherto thought to be English, is actually of Continental origin; on further scrutiny it appears that a commonly accepted theory of identity for 'Lupus Italus' must be abandoned, and that the name itself, although encountered in this form in no other source, has a bearing on a larger and more difficult problem of attribution.

It should be made clear that these two compositions are not appended to the collection but belong to the main body of its contents. Although the set as a whole seems not to have been laid out systematically, it nevertheless exhibits some tendency to group pieces by composer or, to a lesser extent, by liturgical category. The motet 'Aspice Domine' and the Mass 'Surrexit pastor bonus' were entered, in that order, shortly past the middle of each part-book, between a Magnificat by John Dark and an untitled Mass by Christopher Tye. The composer's full name appears at the end of the Magnificat and Mass, and while the name 'Lupus Italus' (in the *bassus* it is simply 'Lupus') follows the Mass in all four remaining part-books the motet is given no attribution at all. On the other hand the set is accompanied by an index, apparently of early date, in which 'Lupus Italus' is listed as the author of '1. Aspice Domine' and '2. Missa'.⁴ But since the index explicitly lists each part-book by name, together with the relevant folio numbers for each piece, and since it mentions only the four parts that now survive, it is wholly likely that it was compiled after the tenor had been lost. It can therefore be considered less reliable—or at least less original—than the attributions in the part-books themselves, which give every indication of having been made by the same hand that wrote down the texts and music. Thus, although all who have mentioned these compositions have followed the index in assigning both to 'Lupus Italus', the original writer did so only for the Mass, leaving the motet anonymous.

Speculation about the identity of 'Lupus Italus' goes back at least as far as Henry Davey's 'History of English Music' (1895). Davey seems to have been the first to describe the Peterhouse collection in relation to other Tudor sources, and he was apparently the first to suggest a theory of identity for 'Lupus Italus' that has prevailed until now. He noticed that the name could easily stand for Ambrose

⁴ I am indebted to Dr. Edwin B. Warren for a photograph of the index.

Lupo of Milan, who entered the service of Henry VIII as a viol-player on 1 May 1540 and remained in the royal service until his death on 10 February 1591.⁵ 'Ambrose de Millan' (his death notice gives his name as "Ambrosio de Millayne al[ia]s Lupo") is mentioned regularly in records of the Royal Household over this long period of time, and he is distinguished not only for his remarkable longevity but for the accomplishments of his heirs: he was the first member of the dynasty of musicians named Lupo to work in England, and many of his descendants were active as performers or composers throughout the Elizabethan era and down into the seventeenth century. While there is no other evidence that Ambrose was a composer, his name and place of origin admittedly fit the attribution 'Lupus Italus', just as his first appearance in the royal service fits the approximate date at which the Peterhouse manuscripts are thought to have been compiled. Accordingly, Davey's theory was entirely plausible, and it is not surprising that it has been repeated, though with varying degrees of cautiousness, in more recent accounts.⁶

Yet neither composition is by Ambrose Lupo nor by any other composer known to have resided in England. The Peterhouse setting of 'Aspice Domine' is the same five-part motet that is consistently attributed to Jaquet of Mantua in a number of Continental manuscripts and publications, including anthologies published by Moderne and Petreius and volumes by Scotto (1539) and Gardane (1540) devoted exclusively to Jaquet's motets.⁷ The piece was reprinted some years ago by Charles van den Borren as a supplement to his edition of de Monte's Mass 'Aspice Domine',⁸ and it is a mark of its

⁵ See H. Cart de Lafontaine, 'The King's Musick' (London, 1909), pp. 6-18; W. Woodfill, 'Musicians in English Society' (Princeton, 1953), pp. 178, 183, 297. Although the most recent dictionary accounts disagree as to the date of Ambrose Lupo's death, the exact date is established by the Declared Accounts of the Audit Office, published as 'Lists of the King's Musicians' in *The Musical Antiquary*, October 1910, p. 54: 'Ambrosio de Millayne al[ia]s Lupo deceased, due for one quarter & 47 days, ending February 10, 1590 [= 1591], on which day he died'.

⁶ Grove, v, s.v. 'Lupo', 'Lupus Italus'; Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, s.v. 'Lupo'; Hughes, 'Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse', pp. 5 foll.

⁷ The following combines lists of sources published earlier by E. Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, iii (1950), p. 207, and A. M. Bautier-Regnier, 'Jachet de Mantoue', *Revue Belge de Musicologie*, vi (1952), p. 114. For the sake of brevity, printed anthologies are referred to only by publisher's name and by the number assigned to each collection in the 'Répertoire International des Sources Musicales', i (Munich, 1960), hereinafter abbreviated as RISM. Printed anthologies: 1532⁹ (Moderne); 1540¹⁰ (Petreius). Editions of Jaquet da Mantua's motets for five voices: Scotto, 1539; Gardane, 1540; Gardane, 1553; Scotto, 1565. MSS: Rome, Cap. Sist. MS. 38, No. 24; Bologna, Bibl. del Conservatorio MS. Q. 27; Modena, Bibl. Estense, Mus. MS. C. 313; Torino, Bibl. Nazionale MS. 4. 45. The list could doubtless be extended. Finally, intabulations: Valderrábano, 1547; Henestrosa, 1547; Fuenllana, 1554; Cabezón, 1578.

⁸ 'Philippe de Monte: Opera', No. 26. The motet is incorrectly attributed in this edition to Jacquet Berchem.

wide diffusion and of Jaquet's reputation that it was used as model for a Mass not only by de Monte but by Vincenzo Ruffo (1557) and Palestrina (1567), and was re-worked as a motet for six voices by Jacob Vaet.⁹

Although the Continental provenance of the Mass 'Surrexit pastor bonus' is equally well established by contemporary manuscripts and editions, its authorship cannot be precisely determined, and to deal adequately with this problem it will be necessary to describe its ramifications in some detail. The Mass was first published by Scotto in an anthology of 1543, with ascription to 'Johannes Lupus'. Within the next twenty-five years it was reprinted at least three times: first by Gardane, in an anthology of 1547 that not only borrows its title from Scotto's edition of 1543 but owes four of its five Masses to the same source and extracts the odd one from a Scotto anthology of 1540; next, by Scotto himself, in 1565, in his own reprint of his anthology of 1543; and finally, in a volume of Masses collected by Michael Voctus and published by Schwertel at Wittenberg in 1568.¹⁰ It is also found in contemporary manuscripts traditionally associated with Cambrai, Catalonia and northern Italy: Cambrai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 5; Montserrat, Benedictine Abbey, MS. 776; and Treviso, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS. 2.¹¹

The presence of the Mass in these sources only increases the difficulty of establishing its authorship, for the track of 'Lupus Italus' thus leads away from England and Ambrose Lupo into the obscurity surrounding the various Continental musicians named 'Lupus' and 'Lipi' who lived during the first half of the century. It is neither necessary nor possible to trace here the entire labyrinth of conflicting attributions involved in this problem, for it exceeds in complexity all other *Doppelmeister* mysteries of the century, and despite valuable clarifications by Hans Albrecht and Edward Lowinsky no comprehensive solution is in sight.¹² For present purposes a brief review of

⁹ A comparative discussion of the three Masses is offered in my dissertation 'The Counter-Reformation and the Sacred Music of Vincenzo Ruffo' (Princeton University Diss., 1960), pp. 197-204. On Vaet's motet see M. Steinhardt, 'Jacobus Vaet and his Motets' (East Lansing, 1951), pp. 57 foll.

¹⁰ RISM: 1543¹ (Scotto); 1547⁶ (Gardane); 1565¹ (Scotto); 1568¹ (Schwertel). The title pages of the earlier Scotto and Gardane anthologies are reproduced in facsimile in 'Monumentos de la Musica Española', xv (Rome, 1954), pl. 3 and 6.

¹¹ See E. de Coussemaker, 'Notice sur les collections musicales de la Bibliothèque de Cambrai' (Paris, 1843), pp. 35 foll. and Appendix, p. 36; R. B. Lenaerts, 'Niederländische Polyphone Musik in der Bibliothek von Montserrat' in 'Festschrift Joseph Schmidt-Gög zum 60. Geburtstag' (Bonn, 1960), p. 200; G. d'Alessi, 'La Cappella Musicale del Duomo di Treviso' (Treviso, 1954), p. 214. The Treviso manuscript was destroyed during World War II.

¹² H. Albrecht, 'Lupus Hellinck und Johannes Lupi', *Acta Musicologica*, vi (1934), pp. 54-65; E. Lowinsky, 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana', pp. 177-179. The problem is summarized in 'Die Musik in

the principal items of evidence may suffice to provide a background.

The major figures in the complex are, of course, Johannes Lupi (Jean Leleu) of Cambrai (c. 1506-1539) and Luperus Hellinck (c. 1495-1541). That both held important posts as choirmasters (Lupi at the Cathedral of Cambrai, Hellinck at Bruges) is definitely known; that both were able composers is clear from those few works for which their individual authorship is established beyond question. The existence of another, earlier composer named 'Luperus' was first mentioned by Albrecht as a possibility and has since been given persuasive documentary support by Lowinsky.¹³ The principal evidence for this composer consists of a number of motets attributed to 'Luperus' in Italian and French sources of the period 1518-19. One motet is published in Petrucci's 'Motetti de la Corona', II, 1519. Five more are found in the Bologna manuscript Q 19 (dated 1518), and another is the concluding composition in the Medici Codex, compiled in France early in 1518 for presentation to Lorenzo de' Medici.¹⁴ Still another, preserved in the Vallicelliana manuscript, is based on a text that celebrates the installation of Marino Grimani as Patriarch of Aquileia and praises Grimani as a benevolent patron of music. Lowinsky has shown that Grimani's election took place in January 1517, and he infers from the motet that Luperus was in Italy, probably in service at Aquileia, in that year.¹⁵ He also adduces a statement by Vincenzo Galilei which includes 'Luperus' in a list of composers said to have come from Flanders and France and to have gathered at Rome in 1513, the first year of the pontificate of Leo X, with remuneration from the newly elected Pope. That the earlier Luperus may be identical with a Johannes Lupi who is known to have left Nivelles in 1502 is a possibility noted by Reese¹⁶; it is reasonably clear that he is not to be confused with Hellinck or with the Cambrai choirmaster. Documents attest that Hellinck was at the church of St. Donatian in Bruges in 1513, 1519 and 1521, and there is no evidence that he was ever in Italy; for Lupi of Cambrai the dates 1513 and 1517 are too early, since he was a choirboy at Cambrai Cathedral until 1521.

Geschichte und Gegenwart by Albrecht (s.v. 'Hellinck') and Finscher (s.v. 'Lupi'), and in Reese, 'Music in the Renaissance' (New York, 1954), pp. 306 foll.

¹³ Two other namesakes, who may not have been composers, are a Johannes Lupi who was an organist at Nivelles in 1502, and a Johannes Lupi who was a chaplain at Antwerp cathedral in 1548.

¹⁴ E. Lowinsky, 'The Medici Codex. A Document of Music, Art, and Politics in the Renaissance', *Annales Musicologiques*, v (1957), pp. 61-178. This valuable study also contains the first extended account of the Bologna manuscript, pp. 98-106.

¹⁵ 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana', p. 178.

¹⁶ 'Music in the Renaissance', p. 306.

At this point the chain of circumstantial evidence breaks off. If it is strong enough to permit the inference that the earlier Lupus was in Italy around 1517, perhaps as early as 1513, it is at the same time too weak to support the conclusion that the Peterhouse attribution refers to this composer. At least, such an assumption would have to reckon with the other attributions for the Mass, which appear in sources of as yet undetermined authority and which adequately reflect contemporary confusion about these composers and their work:

Scotto, 1543 and 1565	Johannes Lupus
Gardane, 1547	Luppi
Schwertel, 1568	Lupo
Cambray, MS. 5	Anonymous
Montserrat, MS. 776	Lupus Hellinck
Treviso, MS. 2	Lupus
Peterhouse, MSS. 40, 41, 31, 32	Lupus Italus.

The contradictions actually go further than this, for they also involve the Mass 'Veni sponsa Christi', which both Italian publishers include in their anthologies. Scotto assigns both Masses to 'Johannes Lupus' (that is, 'Joannis Luppi', the genitive, on the title page but 'Lupus' inside the part-books); Gardane, presumably 'correcting' Scotto's attributions, gives the 'Surrexit' to 'Luppi' and the 'Veni sponsa' to 'Lupus', implying that the two are by different composers. Similarly, the Wittenberg collection of 1568 assigns the 'Surrexit' to 'Lupo' but ascribes the Mass 'In te Domine speravi' to 'Lupo Hellinck'. The 'Veni sponsa' Mass is also found in the Continental manuscripts, and while it appears from d'Alessi's description of the lost Treviso manuscript that it followed Scotto's attributions, the other sources are at variance with one another and with the editions.

If the bibliographical and factual evidence thus remains inconclusive, the musical background of the 'Surrexit' Mass calls for brief comment. Earlier observations about it have proceeded from the assumption that it is an English setting, and it has been suggested, on the one hand, that its title is derived from a Kyrie trope¹⁷, on the other, that the title is taken from a plainsong *cantus firmus*¹⁸, as are those of many Tudor Masses. But recognition of its Continental origin prompted a search for a polyphonic model, and this proved justified by identification of the source in Haberl's thematic index to the Sistine manuscripts.¹⁹ The model is Andrea de Silva's five-part

¹⁷ Hughes, 'Catalogue of the Musical Manuscripts at Peterhouse', p. 6.

¹⁸ D. Stevens, 'Tudor Church Music' (New York, 1955), pp. 50 foll.

¹⁹ F. X. Haberl, 'Bibliographischer und Thematicher Musikkatalog des Päpstlichen Kapellarchives im Vatican zu Rom', *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, Beilage (1888), p. 168.

motet 'Surrexit pastor bonus', with second section 'Ecce crucem Domini'. Haberl lists the motet after Cappella Sistina MS. 24, a relatively late source compiled in 1545 by the Papal copyist Johannes Parvus. But with the aid of additional references supplied by Rubsamen it can be traced to two other Italian manuscripts, one of which is considerably earlier: Modena, Biblioteca del Duomo, MS. IX; and Padua, Biblioteca del Duomo, MS. A 17. The Padua manuscript bears the date 1522²⁰ (see pp. 343-4).

The two sections of de Silva's motet conclude with identical settings of the word 'Alleluia', and the motet as a whole obviously derives its larger formal design, along with its text, from the Easter respond 'Surrexit pastor bonus'; the traditional verse, 'Etenim pascha nostrum', is replaced by 'Ecce crucem Domini', a text commonly associated with the festival of the Invention of the Holy Cross.²¹

The identification of the model further confirms the Continental traditions of the Mass, and if it leaves the problem of authorship as uncertain as before, it nevertheless permits the observation that de Silva and the earlier Lopus were approximate contemporaries (possibly compatriots from Flanders), that they apparently resided in Italy at about the same time, and that they are represented together in several sources. All the manuscripts that contain motets by the earlier Lopus—the Bologna Q 19, the Vallicelliana, and the Medici Codex—also contain motets by de Silva. And Galilei, in his list of the musicians said to have come to Rome in 1513, mentions de Silva along with Lopus. Although Galilei's remark comes too late in the century to be given the credence of a contemporary document, and although doubts have been raised as to the plausibility of its claims, the fact remains that a connection between de Silva and the newly elected Leo X is established by de Silva's motet 'Gaude felix Florentia'. As Lowinsky has demonstrated²², this motet was almost certainly

²⁰ W. Rubsamen, 'Music Research in Italian Libraries', *Notes*, 2nd Series, viii (1950), pp. 77, 82, 98.

²¹ See 'Liber Responsorialis' (Solesmes, 1895), pp. 86, 415. The Verse 'Etenim' is also found in such older sources as the antiphoners of Lucca and Toledo: 'Paléographie Musicale', ix, no. 1887. Two other sources, the Worcester Antiphoner ('Paléographie Musicale', xii, p. 133) and the Gradual-Antiphoner of Noyon (xvi, p. 89), contain the verse 'Surrexit Dominus'.

²² 'A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript', p. 176. The musicians named by Galilei are Josquin, Lopus, Mouton, Carpentras, de Silva, Therache, Fevin, Longueval, Hilaire Penet, Brumel, Richafort and Divitis. K. Jeppesen, in *The Musical Quarterly*, xxxi (1955), p. 383, observes that Galilei's list includes Brumel, who is not listed in Vatican accounts, and Fevin, who died no later than 1512. He further observes that ten of the twelve composers in the list are represented in the 'Motetti de la Corona', i, 1514; that the other two (Lopus and Richafort) have motets in 'Corona', ii, 1519; and that both of these volumes contain a privilege signed by Leo X, dated October 22 1513. Jeppesen suggests, quite reasonably, that the privilege may have induced Galilei to associate these composers with the election of Leo X.

Andrea de Silva, 'Surrexit pastor bonus', pars I (from Cap. Sist. MS. 24, fo. 36v foll.).

S. Sur - re - xit pa - stor, pa - stor bo -
A.
T. Sur - re - xit pa - stor
B. Sur - re - xit pa -
5. Sur - re - xit pa -
nus. Sur - re - xit pa -
Sur - re - xit pa - stor
nus, bo - nus.
Sur - re - xit pa -
- stor

'Lupus', Missa 'Surrexit pastor bonus', Kyrie I (from Scotto, 1543¹).

S. Ky - ri - e - le -
A. Ky - ri - e - le -
T. Ky - ri -
5. R. Ky - ri -
- son, Ky - ri -
son, Ky - ri -
Ky - ri -

Andrea de Silva, 'Surrexit pastor bonus', pars II.

S. $\text{F} = \infty$

A. $\text{G} \ \text{c}2$

T. $\text{G} \ \text{c}2$

5. $\text{G} \ \text{c}2$

B. $\text{G} \ \text{c}2$

Ec - ce cru - cem do - - -
Ec - ce cru - cem do - mi - ni.
Ec - ce cru - cem do - mi - ni,
Ec - ce cru - cem do - - -
Ec - ce cru - cem do - mi - ni
Ec - ce cru - cem do - - -

'Lupus,' Missa 'Surrexit pastor bonus', 'Qui tollis'.

S. $\text{F} = \infty$

Mi - se -

A. $\text{G} \ \text{c}$

5. $\text{G} \ \text{c}$

T. $\text{G} \ \text{c}$

B. $\text{G} \ \text{c}$

Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di mi -
Qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - - - di
- se - re - re no - - bis
- re - re no - - - - bis
- se - re - re no - bis (ff)

written to celebrate Leo's election. In the years following, de Silva's role as Papal singer and as a member of Leo's private chapel was one of considerable importance, for in 1519 and 1520 he is listed as "cantor nostre capelle et compositor noster", and, unlike other Papal musicians, he was scheduled to receive payment even when absent from his duties.²³ In 1522 he is mentioned as being at Mantua, and thereafter all trace of him is lost.

Apart from these remarks there is nothing to show that de Silva's motet could not have been used as a model by Luperus Hellinck or by Johannes Lupi of Cambrai, just as motets by him were adopted for Masses by Arcadelt and Palestrina. Again the problem narrows down to the Peterhouse attribution to 'Luperus Italus', and at present it can only be said that if this formulation is not entirely meaningless, it might indeed have been used to distinguish the Luperus associated with Italy from his northern namesakes. Granted the probable dating of the Peterhouse collection (*c.* 1540-1547), the name might be thought to indicate merely that an English scribe copied the Mass from one of its early Venetian editions—Scotto's of 1543 or Gardane's of 1547. But this inference is easily disposed of, for the Mass in the Peterhouse manuscript contains complete polyphonic settings of all sections of the Ordinary, while both Scotto and Gardane, for some reason, omit the Benedictus and the indication 'Osanna ut supra'.²⁴ Moreover, the Peterhouse version is throughout in C, while the Italian printed versions are in C; and there are many other discrepancies in notation that go beyond the usual variants in use of ligatures. The likely assumption, then, is that the Peterhouse scribe worked from a source that is now lost, and, unless he understood the 'Luperus' problem better than his Continental colleagues, which is improbable, it seems reasonable to guess that he copied down the name along with the music from whatever source he used. That his transcription was hurriedly made is suggested by a number of errors: in several instances semibreves are miscopied as minims and are then corrected by means of a horizontal stroke drawn through the minim's tail; in the 'Et in terra' the *superius* part for "gratias agimus tibi" is inadvertently omitted, and the music for the words following, "propter magnam gloriam", is incorrectly given twice.

However the problem of authorship may eventually be resolved, the motet and Mass ought to be of interest as additions to the small

²³ H. W. Frey, 'Regesten zur päpstlichen Kapelle unter Leo X und zu seiner Privatkapelle', *Die Musikforschung*, viii (1955), p. 61.

²⁴ A similar omission in Scotto's edition of Cipriano de Rore's 'Missa Quarta' (1555²) is noted by A. Johnson, 'The Masses of Cipriano de Rore', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vi (1953), p. 230.

body of Continental compositions in early Tudor sources. The inclusion of the Jaquet motet is not without its precedents. A motet by Josquin, an anonymous motet that also appears in the Vallicelliana manuscript, and one by Jaquet himself have recently been discovered in the Dunkeld part-books.²⁵ And Continental motets form the principal, if not the entire, contents of such collections as British Museum, Royal 8 G vii, compiled for Henry VIII, and Royal College of Music MS. 1070, which contains motets by Josquin and Obrecht, among other anonymous motets and chansons, and bears the name of Anne Boleyn on one leaf.²⁶

But the Lopus Mass can claim particular distinction, for it is apparently an isolated importation. Apart from the inclusion of Dufay's 'L'homme armé' Mass in the Carver choirbook—at best a distant precedent, historically and geographically—it is without antecedents or counterparts in the surviving insular manuscripts of this period. Yet in a positive sense it provides concrete evidence of English acquaintance not only with Continental motets but with at least one Mass, and quite possibly others, then in circulation in Continental sources. Earlier discussions of the Tudor Mass in the first half of the century have laid emphasis on its removal from Continental developments, its persistent reliance on the *cantus firmus* as a basis of construction, and its delayed introduction of fully imitative techniques. Against this background it is one of the principal points of interest about the 'Surrexit' Mass that it is a fully developed *missa parodia*. The larger distribution of borrowed material follows the conventional method for a model in two sections: the major divisions of the Ordinary derive their material from the *prima pars*; secondary divisions of the Gloria and Credo ('Qui tollis', 'Et in spiritum') from the *secunda pars*. And since the ordering of material within the larger units corresponds in the main to that of the model, the Mass as a whole exhibits a uniform distribution of borrowed motives. This plan is interrupted only occasionally, as at 'Et resurrexit' in the Credo, which begins a section and at which a return to the opening of the *prima pars* is perhaps suggested by the verbal parallel 'Et resurrexit—Surrexit'. While a detailed study of the relation of the Mass to its model is not attempted here, it may be worth noting that several external characteristics of the Mass set it apart from the main body of Tudor settings thus far available for

²⁵ F. Ll. Harrison, 'Music in Medieval Britain', p. 194; 'The New Oxford History of Music', iii, p. 339.

²⁶ On the former manuscript see Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 340. On the latter see the 'Catalogue of the Sacred Harmonic Society' (London, 1872), p. 200; also 'Josquin des Prez, Werken', ed. A. Smijers, 'Motetten', Bundel III.

study; for example, its complete polyphonic Kyrie, its unabbreviated setting of the Credo text, and its fourfold division of the Sanctus (Sanctus-Pleni, Osanna, Benedictus for reduced complement, Osanna *ut supra*). Beyond these preliminary observations the identity and background of the Mass admittedly raise many questions that must be left to further investigation, among them whether its derivation from a polyphonic source of imitative character, and its consequent imitative construction, bear any demonstrable relation to changing methods of composition in Tudor settings; and whether its presence in the Peterhouse part-books may indicate that the collection itself, or at least some part of its contents, originated in a musical centre and among musicians peculiarly receptive to Continental sacred music.

THE REAL PAGANINI

BY ZDENĚK VÝBORNÝ

"Così il mio onore sarà conosciuto e vendicato, e la verità sarà un lucchetto messo alla bocca dell'impotuta."

NICCOLÒ PAGANINI.

"I DON'T DO any harm to anyone, and yet people who don't know me make out that I am an utterly wicked, greedy and objectionable person."¹ So wrote Paganini from Prague on 10 January 1829 to his Genoese friend, the lawyer L. G. Germi. He could hardly have expected then that this evil reputation would dog his footsteps more and more as time went on and would still be active many years after his death. No one today seriously believes that he was in league with the devil, but the legend that he was a skinflint is still alive. The behaviour of other famous musicians of the past—Angelica Catalani, Adelina Patti and many others—is taken for granted or at any rate regarded as justified; but Paganini is judged by other standards. Misunderstanding and envy are more often the lot of great men than glory and affection. It was so with Paganini. The rumours turned to slander, the slander grew into a legend, and the legend came to be accepted as truth. In history and fiction Paganini still appears today as 'Signor Paganiente'. Typical anecdotes are repeated over and over again, and people take no trouble to convince themselves of the truth—to see him as he really was.

First of all let the documents speak for themselves. Though his papers and other possessions were sold by auction after his death, enough evidence survives to bear impartial witness to his character. We may begin with a sale catalogue issued in Florence in 1910.² It includes several letters of thanks to Paganini for his services to charity, among them the following:

N.56. Lettera di ringraziamento del Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri di Francia, in data 17 aprile 1831.

¹ "Io non faccio mai male a nessuno, ma chi non mi conosce mi dipinge per l'uomo il più scellerato, avaro, esoso." Unless otherwise mentioned, all the quotations from Paganini's letters in this article are from Arturo Codignola, 'Paganini intimo' (Genoa, 1935).

² Catalogo N.84. Collezione del celebre violinista Nicolo Paganini. Musica inedita, ioni regali e principeschi, un grande mosaico fiorentino, preziosi gioielli, ritratto di G. Patten, busto, oggetti d'arte, lettere autografe, memorie, quadri antichi in vendita al pubblico incanto' (Luigi Battistelli, Florence, 1910).

62. Lettera di ringraziamento del Comitato degli Esuli Polacchi.
64. Lettera di Abel Thibaud che ringrazia a nome dei poveri di Parigi.
65. Lettera in data 10 novembre 1834: Ringraziamento dei poveri di Parma.
68. Ringraziamento del Comitato dell'Ospedale dei Bambini a Londra, in data 10 luglio 1835.
69. Lettera di Abel Thibaud di ringraziamento per beneficenza, in data 20 aprile 1830.
70. Lettera di ringraziamento della New Musical Fund.
73. Lettera di ringraziamento del Presidente del Comitato degli Orfani di Parigi, in data 9 maggio 1832.
75. Lettera del Segretario Generale del Ministero del Commercio in Francia, a proposito del Concerto pei colerosi, in data 11 aprile 1832.
76. Lettera del Ministro di Francia Montalivet di ringraziamento per detto Concerto, in data 2 maggio 1832.
77. Lettera di ringraziamento riguardante una beneficenza fatta a Londra da Nicolo Paganini, in data 6 maggio 1833.
78. Lettera del Ministro dei LL.PP. di Francia a proposito di un Concerto da darsi pei colerosi, in data aprile 1832.
80. Lettera del Direttore dell'Istituto dei Ciechi di Berlino per ringraziamento, in data 25 marzo 1829.
82. Quitanza in data 19 marzo 1831 degli Ospizi Civili di Parigi per L.8000 date da Paganini ai poveri.

It might occur to the reader that these are purely official documents, which, however creditable they may appear, might indicate a cunning attempt to influence public opinion which would eventually pay dividends. Might it not be that Paganini was using these charitable activities as a cloak for the more disreputable elements in his private life? The answer is to be found in his private correspondence, where there is no question of attracting the attention of the public. I quote a number of extracts (translations on pp. 351-2):

- (1) 15 May 1828: Questa sera suonerò in casa del Principe Metternich. Domani di nuovo al Ridotto a titolo di beneficenza.
- (2) 10 January 1829: Ho date in questo Teatro sei Accademie, compresa una per i poveri.
- (3) 6 April 1831: J'ajouterai qu'à Vienne, à Berlin, et dans les villes où je me suis arrêté, je me suis fait un devoir de jouer pour venir au secours des infortunés . . . Le produit d'une de mes soirées, dans la salle de l'Opéra, sera consacré tout entier au soulagement des pauvres de cette capitale.
- (4) 6 April 1831: Dell'introito nelli altri concerti spettano due terzi a me, ed un terzo all'amministrazione la quale deve pagare tutte le spese, nonchè la tassa per li poveri.
- (5) 13 April 1831: Je destine pour votre intéressante Institution des Orphelins le cinquième de la recette.

- (6) June-July 1831: Suonai gratis al gran Teatro per il concerto a beneficio dei filarmonici, vedove, etc., e gratis al concerto per li orfanelli di Londra.
- (7) June-July 1831: Mio caro Germi, leviamo dalla miseria Dominica mia sorella e la sua famiglia. Procurale un alloggio decente; provvedila di mobili, compresi i letti e tutto l'occorrente: pezze di tela per lenzuola, pezze di tela per camicie, pezze d'indiana od altro per vestiti; calze, scarpe, fazzoletti e tutto quel che è necessario per il buon vivere, indi assegna 150 franchi al mese, se credi che bastino, pel mantenimento delle sue creature; se occorre spendi per organizzar il tutto 8 o 10 mila franchi ch'io ci assento.
- (8) 29 February 1832: A mia sorella Nicoletta per pensione ho inteso i frutti o reddito del capitale di L.20.600, e del casino di Polcevera . . . Farai bene di soccorrere anche più ampliamente sel credi l'altra sorella Dominica . . .
- (9) 8 April 1832: Pénétré de douleur pour les maux qui accablent une partie de la population et voulant payer ma dette à l'humanité, je désirerai donner un concert dont le produit serait consacré aux victimes du cruel fléau qui désole la capitale.
- (10) 18 April 1832: Venerdì prossimo darò un concerto al gran Teatro a beneficio dei malati . . . Rossini e fuggito dalla paura; io al contrario nulla temo dal desiderio di essere utile all'umanità.
- (11) 9 May 1833: I may be allowed to state, that I have played for charitable institutions in different parts of England, Scotland and Ireland, that [sic] when called upon to assist decayed musicians, their widows and this year I felt happy in having arrived just in time to do the same, though even before my début.
- (12) 9 March 1834: Vado a scrivere una linea alla mia cara sorella Nicoletta . . . e le dirò che penserò a provvederla dei danari che occorre per l'educazione di suo figlio, e che otterrà il tutto al mio ritorno in patria.
- (13) 20 September 1834: J'ai donné à Paris deux concerts au bénéfice des pauvres.
- (14) 6 April 1835: Amico pregiatissimo, sono colla presente a pregarti di accettare in dono cinquantamila lire nuove di Piemonte nell'ordine qui annesso, e queste non per ricompensa, ma per una marca dei miei sentimenti di riconoscenza, e della tenera mia amicizia.³
- (15) 22 September 1835: . . . frattanto si compiacerà pagare per mio conto alla Civica Amministrazione di codesta Città la somma di lire nuove mille.
- (16) 16 September 1837: Il giorno 11 di Giugno passò alli eterni riposi il mio povero zio Bocciardo. E siccome sua figlia Marietta mi scrive da Padova e mi prega di volerla soccorrere . . . ti prego di farle tenere franchi 500 per una volta tanto ed al più presto possibile.

³ The original is in the Biblioteca A.Saffi at Forlì. It has previously only appeared in an English translation in G.I.C. de Courcy, 'Paganini the Genoese' (University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), ii, p. 187.

- (17) 8 March 1838: A mio carico sia l'educazione di mio nipote Ghisolfi. Dominica Passadore sarà guarita. Il casino di Polcevera sia reso abitabile.
- (18) 28 November 1838: Per alleggerire le pene del di lei fratello Stefano, vado ad invitare il Sig. Avvocato Germi di Genova, onde ordini che sieno al medesimo rimessi cinquecento franchi . . .
- (19) 18 December 1838: . . . io che ho gustato le vostre divine composizioni, degne di genio qual siete, credo mio dovere di pregarvi a voler accettare in segno di mio omaggio, ventimila franchi . . .
- (20) 17 February 1839: Sia dato a Cecilia vedova Paganini duecento franchi una volta tanto, e 20 franchi al mese.
- (21) 19 March 1839: Vorrei che tu chiamassi Ghisolfi e farti conoscere un bambino, figlio di una figlia di mio zio Paolo, da molti anni spento . . . onde fosse ammesso gratis all'albergo. Io invece lo situerei in questo famoso Collegio, dove mio figlio va a fare i suoi corsi . . .
- (22) 9 May 1839: Alla moglie del fu Paolo darai, come dici, 100 franchi.
- (23) 27 April 1840: . . . acconsento a dedicare cento luigi per il vitalizio in favore della vedova Cecilia Paganini.
- (24) 12 May 1840: Favorite di comunicare a Germi che si presenterà a lui Antonio Bocciardo, ed allo stesso potrà fargli un buono di cinquecento franchi . . .

[*Translations of the Italian texts*]

(1) This evening I shall play at Prince Metternich's residence. Tomorrow again at a charity concert in the Redoutensaal. (2) I have given six concerts in this theatre, including one for the poor. (4) Two-thirds of the proceeds of the other concerts come to me, and one third to the administration, which is to pay all the expenses, except the contribution for the poor. (6) I played for nothing at the theatre for the concert in aid of members of the Philharmonic Society, widows, etc. and also at the concert for the orphan children of London. (7) My dear Germi, we must relieve the distress of my sister Dominica and her family. Find her a decent lodging; provide her with furniture, including beds and all other necessaries: material for sheets, also for shirts, cotton or other material for clothes; stockings, shoes, handkerchiefs and everything she needs to make her comfortable, and then pay her 150 francs a month, if you think that is enough, to provide for her children; if necessary, spend up to 8,000 or 10,000 francs to organize everything, for which you have my consent. (8) I want my sister Nicoletta to have as a pension the interest or income from the capital of 20,600 lire and from the house at Polcevera . . . Please give even more generous assistance to the other sister, Dominica, if you think fit. (10) Next Friday I shall give a concert at the theatre in aid of the sick . . . Rossini is frightened and has run away, but I am not afraid of anything, because I want to be of use to humanity. (12) I am going to write a line to my dear sister Nicoletta . . . I shall tell her that I intend to provide her with the money needed for the education of her son and that she will get the full amount when I get back to Italy. (14) My very dear friend, I am writing to ask you to accept as a gift the enclosed cheque for 5000 new lire (Piedmont currency). This is not a recompense but a mark of

my gratitude and my sincere friendship. (15) In the meantime I shall be pleased to pay on my account the sum of 1000 new lire to the civil administration of this city. (16) On 11 June my poor uncle Bocciardo passed away. His daughter Marietta writes to me from Padua and asks me if I will help her, so will you please see that she has a single payment of 500 francs as soon as possible. (17) The education of my nephew Ghisolfi is to be at my expense. Dominica Passadore will receive medical treatment. The house at Polcevera is to be made habitable. (18) In order to relieve the distress of her brother Stefano I am going to ask Signor Germi, lawyer at Genoa, to arrange for him to receive 500 francs. (19) Having enjoyed your wonderful compositions, which are worthy of your genius, I feel I ought to ask you to accept 20,000 francs as a mark of my regard. (20) A single payment of 200 francs and 20 francs a month to the widow Cecilia Paganini. (21) I want you to get hold of Ghisolfi and make the boy's acquaintance (he is the son of a daughter of my uncle Paolo, who died many years ago) and see that he is admitted free of charge to the hostel. In turn I will find him a place in this famous college, where my son is going to study. (22) I will pay the wife of the late Paolo 100 francs, as you say. (23) I agree to pay an annuity of 100 *louis d'or* to the account of the widow Cecilia Paganini. (24) Please tell Germi that Antonio Bocciardo will call on him and that he may make him a grant of 500 francs.

[Translations of the French texts]

(3) I may add that in Vienna and Berlin and the other towns I have visited I have made it my duty to help those in distress. The receipts from one of my concerts, at the Opera, will be devoted entirely to the relief of the poor of this capital. (5) I intend to give one-fifth of my takings to your valuable Institution des Orphelins. (9) Deeply grieved by the sufferings which a part of the population is enduring and anxious to pay my debt to humanity, I should like to give a concert, the proceeds to be devoted to the victims of the terrible scourge which has fallen on the capital. (13) I have given two concerts at Paris in aid of the poor.

These extracts make no claim to be complete. I have deliberately omitted those relating to Paganini's 'carissississississississima madre', to whom, with unceasing love and gratitude, he gave generous support. I must, however, emphasize that in addition to the concerts which were entirely in aid of charity he often made smaller contributions from the proceeds of his ordinary recitals. His notebooks⁴ have frequent entries marked 'ai poveri' in the list of his expenses, for instance at Vienna, Carlsbad, Prague, Dresden, Berlin, Carlsruhe, Cologne, Elberfeld and Boulogne. All this evidence sheds a new light on his character. It is probably Berlioz who gives the best explanation

⁴ Especially four notebooks now in the Library of Congress, and in particular the so-called 'Red Book'. For a description (with several extracts) see my articles 'Paganini sconosciuto: Il virtuoso' and 'Paganini sconosciuto: L'agenda rossa', *La Scala*, No. 113 (April 1959) and Nos. 117-18 (August-September 1959). There are also a large number of references to Paganini's charitable activity in the notebook dealing with his concerts from 1828 to 1831, now in the Liceo Musicale N. Paganini at Genoa.

of the origin of the legend of Paganini's meanness, in a letter to his sister of 20 December 1838:

Beaucoup de gens ne veulent pas encore le croire. C'est que beaucoup de gens ne peuvent comprendre un artiste tel que lui. Paganini professe un mépris incommensurable pour les nécessités matérielles et toutes les platiitudes de la vie, et il regrette en conséquence la moindre dépense qui leur est consacrée; mais en fait d'art son âme est plus noble et plus grande qu'aucune autre.⁵

So much for the circumstantial evidence. We may now turn to what some of his contemporaries said about Paganini's alleged meanness, with particular reference to the more scandalous examples, and see what justification there was for their opinions. There are some very odd things here. The concert management in Leipzig

first of all charged a large sum for the hall, then trebled the fees for the large orchestra and also insisted on a singer . . . Paganini agreed to the trebling of the fees and accepted the singer, but asked for a reduction in the size of the orchestra, which was too big for his concert; this, however, the management would not allow. He merely said: "It's odd that someone else should tell me how many violins I should need for my concerts"—and walked off.⁶

This meant, of course, that he was stingy. Mlle. Bertrand, who played the harp, took part in one of his concerts in Vienna, but this distinction did not satisfy the lady's ambition. After a few days she asked Paganini to appear at her own concert; when he declined she published a letter to him, in which, incredible though it may seem, she informed him that, "considering the hundreds of florins which I contributed to your last concert, it would have been your duty to accept my invitation and even to welcome it".⁷ Instead of being greeted with ridicule, this letter merely earned reproaches for Paganini. On another occasion, when he was unable to play owing to illness (after a number of charity concerts), he was overwhelmed with abuse by a journalist named Janin, who some years later had to publish a withdrawal of his accusations. When Paganini sent Berlioz a present of 20,000 francs⁸ a number of people hastened to invent the grossest calumnies about his generosity. The world in general was more interested in other matters: the fact that he brushed his clothes

⁵ 'Les Années romantiques' (Paris, 1903), p. 390. "Many people refuse to believe it. That is because they cannot understand an artist like him. Paganini has a profound contempt for material necessities and all the everyday things of life, and for that reason he grudges spending even the smallest sum on them. But as an artist he is a finer and more noble character than anyone else."

⁶ *Abendzeitung* (1829), no. 95.

⁷ J. M. Schottky, 'Paganinis Leben und Treiben' (Prague, 1830), p. 401.

⁸ See p. 351, no. 19.

and boots (and his son's) himself, to save having to pay a valet, that he prepared his own morning chocolate in his room, that he never ate at a *table d'hôte*, to save expense, that he was content with a bowl of soup in the evening and never once wanted a roll (even a small one) to go with it—and so on.⁹

Leaving on one side all this tittle-tattle, we must seriously face the question: was Paganini avaricious and mean, or not? He was often reproached for his practice of charging double (or even higher) prices for admission to his concerts. In a letter referring to the negotiations at Leipzig mentioned above he writes:

From what I know of the prices fixed here by Mme. Catalani
I do not feel that the price of my tickets is at all excessive, compared
with what it is customary for artists of some standing to charge.¹⁰

Certainly Paganini was by no means unique in demanding exceptional fees—plenty of musicians still do—and no one is likely to be surprised by this or to use it as a ground for accusations of meanness. Furthermore, it can do no harm to point out that he was not the most expensive virtuoso of his time.

Is it a fact that Paganini was so absorbed in financial matters, that he was more expert at making money than an artist ought to be? There is no question, of course, of accepting the romantic idea of the artist as an unpractical person, remote from the world, ignorant of the value of money and living only for his art. The truth is that Paganini was no more and no less interested in making money than other great musicians. Take Beethoven, for example. As Romain Rolland pointed out, he had a thoroughly good knowledge of money matters and was on the best of terms with the Vienna bankers. With their assistance he made profitable investments in government securities, bought stocks and shares, and in spite of the generous fees he received did not hesitate to cheat his publishers when he could and to make private notes of these transactions for future use. Like him Paganini knew that "he could only lead an independent life on a small income" and made up his mind that his life would be based on "a proper combination of art and economics": like him, too, he kept an exact record of income and expenditure, fulfilled all his obligations and expected his associates to do the same. Those who had to make financial agreements with Paganini concerning his concerts had occasion to recognize that he was a practical man, who

⁹ J. M. Schottky, *op. cit.*, p. 395 n.

¹⁰ "A quel ch'io so de' prezzi stabiliti qui da madama Catalani non mi pare che il prezzo di miei biglietti fosse punto aggrandito, rispetto a ciò che si costuma dagli artisti di qualche grido": see my article 'Paganini sconosciuto: L'uomo', *La Scala*, No. 120 (November 1959).

knew his own worth and made corresponding demands; but they saw also that any idea of making money for its own sake was quite foreign to his nature, that he repaid trust with trust and made a point of conducting business affairs in an agreeable, tactful and friendly way. He acted, in fact, "da buono Genovese", to quote his own words.

In his letters, particularly those to his friend and legal adviser L. G. Germi, there are frequent references to payments, accounts, rents, loans, purchases and sales, and also in his notebooks, where he (or his secretaries) entered all ings and outgoings—often in such detail that we know exactly how much he spent on such and such a day on food, tips, postage, travelling expenses and so on. It is difficult to see how all this could be a matter for reproach. It indicates not meanness but an instinct for efficiency: a travelling virtuoso needed to have a very clear idea of how his finances would work out in the course of his journeys and to see that he was not exploited. The more we investigate the facts of Paganini's life, the more the accusations made against him sink into insignificance, the more clearly his true character emerges. Obituaries and epitaphs often have to be taken with a grain of salt; but the inscription on Paganini's tomb at Parma bears the stamp of truth:

CUORE OLTREMODO GENEROSO
DONÒ LARGAMENTE
AI PARENTI AGLI ARTISTI AI POVERI.¹¹

I have mentioned already the accounts which Paganini kept in his notebooks. The most complete of these occur in the 'Registro di spese, which is now in the Liceo Musicale Niccolò Paganini at Genoa. We have here in alphabetical order the proceeds and expenses of the concerts given during the years 1828-31, partly noted by Paganini himself, partly in the hands of his secretaries, Lazzaro Rebizza and Paul David Curiol. The book also includes the drafts or copies of some hitherto unpublished letters to and from Paganini, which provide interesting evidence of his financial transactions and his relations with his bankers. Those which follow are taken from microfilms, for which I am indebted to Professor Pintacuda of Genoa and Professor Berri of Rapallo, the latter of whom has also been kind enough to check my transcripts of the Italian texts.

Shortly before Paganini left for his European concert tour he handed over his valuable collection of instruments to his friend, the banker Carlo Carli, who sent him the following acknowledgment:

¹¹ "The soul of generosity, he gave freely to his relatives, to artists and to the poor."

Milano 4 Marzo 1828.

Pregiatiss.mo Cav.e Paganini.
 Nell'augurarle ogni prosperità p. il di lei prossimo Viaggio p. Vienna
 la prevengo di ritenere in deposito i seguenti effetti di sua ragione.
 Un Violino di Antonio Straduario [sic] di forma grande vernice gialla
 col biglietto 1724.
 Un Violino con vernice rossa col biglietto di Gius.e Guanerio [sic] del
 1734 con arco in una cassa da due.
 Un Violino di Andrea Guarnerio col biglietto del 1676 in una cassa
 da un' quadrata dipinta in verde, con arco.
 Una Viola di Ant.o e Girolamo Amati col biglietto 1612 in cassa
 da uno coperto di bulgaro.
 Un Violino piccolo senza biglietto con arco borsa e cassa di legno
 in bianco.
 Una Chitarra di Napoli con cassa di legno.
 Un Violoncello con vernice rossa col biglietto di Ant.o Straduario del
 1728 in cassa usata.
 Rinnovandole le proteste della mia affezione e della cordiale mia
 servitù sono. L'aff.mo suo

Carlo Carli

[Translation]

Milan, 4 March 1828.

Dear Cavaliere Paganini,

Wishing you every success on your forthcoming journey to Vienna,
 I write to acknowledge the receipt on deposit of the following items of
 your property:

1 violin by Antonio Stradivari, large size, with yellow varnish,
 dated 1724.

1 violin by Giuseppe Guarnerio, with red varnish, dated 1734,
 with bow, in a double case.

1 violin by Andrea Guarnerio, dated 1676, in a single square case
 painted green, with bow.

1 viola by Antonio and Girolamo Amati, dated 1612, in a single
 case, covered in Russian leather.

1 *violino piccolo* (no label) with bow, pouch and white wood case.

1 Neapolitan guitar, with wooden case.

1 cello by Antonio Stradivari, with red varnish, dated 1728, in a
 worn case.

With my very kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
 Carlo Carli.

We also have a later draft of a letter to Carli which appears to be
 unfinished:

Scritto li 25 gennaio 1831

Sig. Cav. Carlo Carli

Lessi con vera gioja la sua gentilissima lettera, ed ora non trovo più
 ne questa ne la ricevuta; ma rammentando il contenuto dell'una, e

dell'altra, parmi ch'Ella dichiarasse accordarmi il quattro per cento a cominciare dell'a. 1829, e di ciò me ne rrimetto alla sua esperimentata delicatezza. Il mio Cap.le presso di V.S. ascendeva pel I° dell' anno 1828 a lire A.

altre il I° marzo dell'a. sud.o capitale	26501,13
Scemato per la Bianchi il 22 lug.o a.s.o.	6360,19
resta	10593,10
frutti dell'a. 1829	22268,22
	891
capitale	23159
frutti dell'an. 1830	927
capitale	24086 circa salvo errore.

[Translation]

25 January 1831.

Signor Cavaliere Carlo Carli,

I was delighted to get your very kind letter, and now I cannot find either it or the receipt; but so far as I can recall the contents of both of them I think you offered me 4 per cent., beginning with the year 1829. In this matter I must leave myself entirely in your hands. My capital which you have amounted on 1 January 1828 to

add capital at 1 March 1828	26501,13 lire
less for Bianchi ¹² , 22 July 1828	6360,19
leaving	10593,10
interest for 1829	22268,22
	891
capital	23159
interest for 1830	927
capital	about 24086 (E. & O.E.)

Of the many letters of recommendation which Paganini took with him on his tour, in accordance with the usual custom, we have one from the banker di Tommaso to the firm of Arnstein & Eskeles in Vienna:

Milano il 1° Marzo 1828.

Sig.i Arnstein et Eskeles. Vienna.

Preceduto dalla fama portasi costì il Sig. Cavaliere Nicolo Paganini esimio suonatore di Violino coll'intenzione di dare saggio in qualche accademia dell'innarivabile [sic] di lui maestria nel suono del d.o istruimento.

Non essendo egli conosciuto che per fama, desidera essere appoggiato a qualche casa nostra corrispondente, e noi secondando il suo

¹² Antonia Bianchi, Paganini's mistress and the mother of his child. They separated in August 1828.

desiderio, lo raccomandiamo con tutto l'impegno alle amichevoli, e cortesi vostre attenzioni, persuasi di non poterlo appoggiar meglio. Interessatevi pertanto in tutto ciò che risguarda il di lui ben essere durante il suo costì soggiorno, ed assicuratevi che terremo conto di tutte quelle attenzioni che gli avrete usate, per fare altrettanto ai v.ri raccomandati. Qualora al Sig. Cav.e Paganini occoresse del denaro, favorite somministrargliene per n.ro conto fino all'occorrente somma di cinque mila fiorini, contro di lui ricevuta da trasmetterci, rimborsandone sopra di noi in mancanza di nostri fondi. Prontissimi noi pure ad ogni v.ro cenno, vi tributiamo il n.ro ossequio

Carlo di Tommaso ecc.

[*Translation*]

Milan, 1 March 1828.

Dear Sirs,

Preceded by his reputation, Signor Cavaliere Nicolo Paganini, the distinguished violinist, is travelling to Vienna with the intention of giving a concert to display his unequalled mastery of the instrument.

As he is known only by reputation he would like to have the support of a firm with whom we have associations. We are therefore recommending him very strongly to your kind attention, convinced as we are that there is nowhere where he will be better served. Be good enough to take an interest in everything that concerns his well-being during his stay in Vienna, and be assured that we shall keep an account of everything that you do for him, so that we may do the same for persons recommended by you. If Signor Cavaliere Paganini needs money, be so kind as to supply him on our account up to a total of 5000 florins, a receipt to be signed by him and sent to us: if our credit is not sufficient we will reimburse you for any excess. With every assurance of our immediate attention to your wishes,

We are

Yours faithfully,

Carlo di Tommaso & Co.

No doubt it was this letter that helped to establish Paganini's relations with Arnstein & Eskeles, with whom he maintained an active correspondence, particularly during the years 1828-9. The firm was founded in 1787 by Nathan Adam von Arnstein (1748-1838) from Berlin and Bernhard Freiherr von Eskeles (1753-1839). It was one of the first Austrian banks: Eskeles was made a baron in 1822 for his services in connection with the foundation of the Austrian National Bank. Paganini seems to have been also a friend of the family, since the 'Red Book' contains some verses which he addressed to the Countess Wimpffen, *née* Baroness d'Eskeles:

È pur amabile la Contessina,
rapisce l'animo col suo bel cuor.

Raggio d'insolito contento inondi,
alma sì bella, un sì bel cuor.¹⁸

The 'Registro di spese includes several letters from Paganini to Arnstein & Eskeles, together with their answers. I have omitted the answers, since there is nothing essential in them which cannot be assumed from the original letters:

I

Praga li 6 Gen.o 1829.

Ornatis.mi Sig.ri

Con mia soddisfazione sento dalla loro pregiatissima in data 1° d.o p.o p.o l'impiego fatto dei fiorini 20000 in altrettanti assegni. Li prego di far lo stesso dei f.5000 nonché dei f.6600 qui acclusi che si compiacerano incassare, e darmene un pronto riscontro unitamente a copia di ristretto conto onde porlo nel mio protocolo. Occorrendomi i miei capitali mi farò un dovere di dargliene un mese prima della scadenza dei sei mesi aviso. Venerdì prossimo sarò a Dresden dove starò in attenzione de loro preziosi comandi. Ho l'onore di protestarmi di loro pregiatissimi Sig.ri Uml.mo D.o Servitore

Nicolo Paganini

[*Translation*]

Prague, 6 January 1829.

Gentlemen,

I am pleased to learn from your esteemed communication dated 1 December of the various investments you have made of the 20,000 florins. I should be glad if you would do the same with the 5000 florins, but I should like you to cash the enclosed 6600 florins and to send me an immediate acknowledgement, together with a copy of the statement for my file. If I need to draw on my capital I shall see that you have one month's notice before the six months are up. Next Friday I shall be at Dresden, where I shall hope to hear from you.

I have the honour to be
Your obedient servant
Nicolo Paganini

II

Risposta ai S.ri Arnestein [*sic*] e Esckeles [*sic*] Dresden 9 Febbraio—

Per Vienna

Riscontro un po' tardi la gentilma del 26 pas.o perchè un forte riscaldamento d'occhi mi ha impedito di farlo prima, ed ora prendo la risoluzione di servirmi di altra mano per non dilazionare di più. Li ringrazio di quanto hanno fatto per me, e compiego camb.le di F.4000 buoni p.che siano impegnati nelli stessi modi. A parte il mal d'occhi la mia salute è discretamente buona. Qui son di partenza. Mi fermerò poco a Lipsia, e più a Berlino ove favoriranno riscontrar la presente. Mi confermo etc.

¹⁸ See my article 'Paganini sconosciuto: L'agenda rossa', *La Scala*, Nos. 117-18 (August-September 1959).

[*Translation*]

Dresden, 9 February.

My acknowledgement of your kind letter of 26 January is a little late on account of a severe inflammation of the eyes. In order to avoid further delay I have decided to dictate a reply now.

I am grateful for everything you have done for me and enclose a bill for 4000 florins to be invested in the same way.

Apart from my eyes I am pretty well. I am off again. I shall stay a short while in Leipzig and rather longer in Berlin, where I shall be glad to have your acknowledgement of this letter.

Yours, etc.

III

Berlino 20 Aprile 1829.

Ai S.rí Arnst. et Esck.

Compiego un effetto di Fior.C.12850,5 che li prego di esiggere alla scadenza, e d'impiegar al solito p. mio C.to al più presto. Questo Inverno si rigido, e tanto prolungato poteva pregiudicar di più la mia salute. Adesso dati qui ancora 2. or 3.concerti passerò a Breslau per esser a Varsavia il 12.p.v. Favoriscano riscontrarmi a Bresl. Poste Rest., e mi credono etc.

[*Translation*]

Berlin, 20 April 1829.

I enclose a bill for 12,850.5 florins which I should like you to call in when it is due and to invest on my behalf in the usual way as soon as possible.

This winter, which has been so severe and so prolonged, did not improve my health. As soon as I have given one or two more concerts here I shall go on to Breslau, with a view to reaching Warsaw on 12 May. Please send me an acknowledgement addressed Poste Restante, Breslau.

Believe me, etc.

IV

Berlino 11 Maggio 1829.

Vienna S.rí Arnstein et Esck.

In data del 20 apr. ho spedita una camb. di F.C.12850,5, altra ne spedisco di F.C. 3589,50 pregandoli ad impiegare p. me secondo il consueto. Favoriranno rispondermi a Varsavia. Ho dovuto cambiar piano e non passerò più da Breslau. La mia salute va migliorando, e spero che potrò viaggiare con celerità. Sono etc.

[*Translation*]

Berlin, 11 May 1829.

On 20 April I sent you a bill for 12,850.5 florins. I am now sending another for 3589.50 florins. Please invest it for me as usual. Kindly let me have a reply to Warsaw. I have had to change my plans and shall not now be going *via* Breslau. My health is improving, and I hope to be able to travel fast.

Yours, etc.

V

Varsavia 17 Giugno 1829.

Alli S.ri Arnestein et Esck.

Compiego No 6 cambiali provedutemi da questo S.r Fränkel

F. 1250 al 30 Giugno	sopra Giorgio Ularto	[?]
„ 1200 „ „ „	C.J.Senker	[?] e Comp.
„ 4072,5 „ „ „	S.M.Rothschild	
„ 1800 } 3 Luglio „ [illegible]		
1700 „ „ „		
„ 1583,12 6.id. „	C.Mauthner	

F. 11605,17

Favoriranno impiegare secondo il consueto.

Ho avute qui due lettere ove mi accusano la ricevuta delle mie cambiali di Berlino. Io vi ritorno, ed il mio indirizzo è colà Posta Rest. Ho dati 8 Conc. Vogliono ch'ò ne dia ancora. Tarderò dunque alcuni giorni a partire. Sono etc.

[Translation]

Warsaw, 17 June 1829.

I enclose six bills which I have had from this Signor Fränkel:

1250 fl. due 30 June,	on Giorgio Ularto	[?]
1200 „ „ „	C.J.Senker	[?] & Co.
4072.05 „ „ „	S.M.Rothschild	
1800 „ „ „		
1700 „ 3 July „ [illegible]		
1583.12 „ „ „	C.Mauthner	

11605,17

Please invest in the usual way.

I have received here two letters in which you acknowledge the receipt of the bills which I sent from Berlin. I am going back there: my address will be Poste Restante.

I have given eight concerts. They want me to give more, so I shall stay on for a few days.

Yours, etc.

VI

Id.

Un forte reuma mi ha impedito fin'ora di muovermi. Partirò dimani, e sarò a Berlino fra poco più di una settimana.

Impostai una mia lettera colle rimesse il 18.p.p. Ho preso un'altra cambiale di F.2000 sopra loro Signori. Si serviranno dell'importo al solito. Sono ai loro comandi . . .

Varsavia 18 Luglio

[Translation]

Warsaw, 18 July.

A severe attack of rheumatism has prevented me from moving till

now. I shall leave tomorrow and shall be in Berlin in just over a week. I sent you a letter with the remittances on June 18. I have taken up another bill of 2000 florins on your gentlemen. Please deal with this amount in the usual way.

Yours to command . . .

VII

Alli stessi.

Breslavia 31 Luglio 1829.

Ricevo le due del 4. e 20. cadente, rimanendo in aspettativa per la mia ultima rimessa di Varsavia.

L'av.to Germi di Genova è l'amico che gentilmente si è incaricato della mia Procura, e dirigge tutti i miei interessi. Deferiscano dunque intieramente a lui e favoriscano rispondergli subito in coerenza o per la tratta, o per la rimessa. La mia salute va migliorando. Passo a Berlino, e poi a Ems per far la cura. Sono etc.

[*Translation*]

I have your letters dated 4 and 20 July and hope to hear from you about my last remittance from Warsaw.

The lawyer Germi in Genoa is the friend who has kindly assumed a power of attorney on my behalf and is in charge of all my interests. Would you therefore submit everything to him and let him have an appropriate answer promptly, either about the bill or the remittance? My health is improving. I am leaving for Berlin and shall then go to Ems to take the waters.

Yours, etc.

VIII

Alli stessi.

Berlino 12 Agosto 1829.

Ho ricevuto a tempo debito la loro del 1° cor.te ed aprovo tutto l'operato, e li ringrazio.

Rimetto F.C.3500 che incasseranno ed impiegheranno, o rimetteranno contandoli sui 26. richiesti secondo sarà più conveniente. Partirò dimani per Ems, e riceverò colà risposta alla pres.te. Sono etc.

P.S. Ricevo in questo momento la loro de 5., e confermo quanto ho scritto relativamente al mio amico Sig.r Av.to Germi approvando tutte le disposizioni ch'ei può dare per mio interesse.

[*Translation*]

Berlin, 12 August 1829.

I got your letter of August 1 in time and approve of everything you have done, with many thanks.

I enclose 3500 florins which I should like you to cash and invest, or alternatively remit, adding it to the 26 [thousand] demanded¹⁴, whichever is more convenient.

I shall leave tomorrow for Ems and shall get your answer there.

Yours, etc.

¹⁴ See the amended version below.

P.S. I have just had your letter of the 5th and confirm what I wrote regarding my friend the lawyer Signor Germi, approving all the arrangements he may make on my behalf.

This letter occurs again in the 'Registro', with two minor alterations: "o rimetteranno a Genova contandoli sui 36 m. richiesti" and "aprovaro qualunque disposizione ci possa dare pe' miei interessi". Further letters to Arnstein & Eskeles are merely recorded with brief notes: the last is dated 14 December 1829, Frankfurt am Main.

Here then is the real Paganini without the legends that have blackened his character—a generous benefactor to mankind, who, though as a good Genoese he did not despise riches, was always willing to help others. If he seems to have been too parsimonious in his private life, compared with other musicians, this was only in his avoidance of any advertisement of his generosity or any attempt to profit from the reputation it might gain. It is an irony of fate that one of the noblest characters in the history of music should have been, and should be still, so misunderstood. It was not enough to link his name with the devil or treat him as a charlatan: he was also misjudged as a man. The evidence is clear enough. Paganini believed, in the words quoted at the head of this article, that one day truth would silence falsehood. Is it too much to claim that his belief was justified?

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Baroque Concerto. By A. J. B. Hutchings. pp. 363. (Faber & Faber, London, 1961, 45s.)

How far is it still possible for a modern scholar to write single-handed a reliable history of an entire musical species such as opera, oratorio, symphony or concerto? Nearly 60 years ago Arnold Schering in his late twenties could undertake his 'Geschichte des Instrumentalkonzerts' in two stages as an amplified Ph.D. thesis, extending its scope eventually to the threshold of the new century. About 45 years later Alfred Einstein produced his masterpiece 'The Italian Madrigal' (strictly excluding the madrigals of other nations and breaking off abruptly at the very moment when *basso continuo* entered into the fray) as the net result of a lifetime's research on the eve of his seventieth birthday. The juxtaposition of the biographical circumstances surrounding the origin of these two standard works of modern musicology carries a moral. Musical history books of this kind have lately become exceedingly burdensome for the individual scholar, who more often than not lacks time and opportunity to carry out detailed research. The appalling mass of modern literature and the frightening extent of critical and practical editions of old music represent hurdles which only the stoutest rider would dare to take. A fashionable, if not always recommendable, side-tracking of this problem has become a habit in the case of the so-called 'symposia', in which several specialist authors distribute the burden of multi-lateral research between themselves. Such symposia turn out sometimes less than satisfactorily, despite excellent documentation and specialist knowledge, because their contributions do not blend well and no really coherent train of historic argument could be achieved.

Such coherence is what makes the effort of the single scholar working on a vast subject particularly attractive—as in the case of Arthur Hutchings's comprehensive study of the Baroque concerto. Before I attempt a critical assessment I must commend the courage of the Durham Professor of Music, who managed to write this weighty volume of some 360 pages in a few years alongside his onerous academic duties. His book differs from Schering's in scope and limitations. It breaks off well before the Vienna classics. However, by accepting the rather vague and arguable term 'Baroque' for the analysis of style he manages to reach as far back as the 'Concerti' of Malvezzi and Viadana of the 1590's and to include also Sammartini of Milan and other pioneers of the classical era. Although Corelli, Vivaldi, J. S. Bach, Handel and Telemann are discussed at length and with remarkable care and insight, it soon becomes obvious that the author's real aim was to focus attention on some of those 'lesser lights' who have only recently become objects of scholarly curiosity and practical musical interest. I mean here chiefly composers such as Albinoni, Albicastro, Avison, Bonporti, Manfredini and others who emerge from Schering's narrative only as rather shadowy background figures. It is

here that Hutchings gives of his best. The assessment of their merits and the description of their stylistic idiosyncrasies (backed by a wealth of judiciously chosen music examples) is one of the best things in his book, which is written in a racy style whose quixotic asides will probably drive some of his more restrained colleagues in the United States and in Germany to despair. It is in the case of these neglected composers of the early eighteenth century that the author offers the fruits of really valuable bibliographical and biographical research.

It is perhaps unavoidable that some composers of that prolific period slipped through the author's net, and also that information regarding great figures such as Handel occasionally may become less reliable than the greater part of this in many ways fascinating book. If I draw attention to such occasional shortcomings, I do so as a modest contribution to a second edition of the book, in which these blemishes may be duly corrected.

It was all very well for Schering to dismiss Konrad Hurlebusch somewhat airily as a minor figure of but "local importance" (*op. cit.*, p. 125). However, the six-column 'M.G.G.' article on him by Lieselotte Bense—published in 1957—gives a detailed picture of his colourful life and creative work. Besides, the numerous German and Swedish papers published on him in recent years testify to the increased scholarly interest in him. Hutchings, devoting more than a page to Hurlebusch and his violin concerto, says, with special reference to Mattheson's 'Ehrenpforte', that "little is known on him except that he made the Italian journey"—surely an untenable remark in the face of Hurlebusch's well documented and widely commented journeys to Hamburg, Munich, Stockholm and Brunswick, which incidentally are all mentioned in the respective article of the Riemann-Einstein Lexicon of 1929.

Since Hutchings discusses sonata, concerto and sinfonia *ab ovo*, he quite rightly includes Monteverdi, whose 'Orfeo' and 'Vespers' of 1610 are specially mentioned for their use of echo effects as for their novelties of instrumentation. It is a little disappointing, then, to find that in this context the author has evidently overlooked Monteverdi's 'Sonata sopra Sancta Maria' (from the 'Vespers' of 1610), which is one of the earliest examples of an instrumental concerto, even boasting a primitive, telescoped recapitulation.

It seems a pity that the new editions of Handel's Op. 3 and recent publications on Op. 3 and Op. 6 apparently failed to come to Hutchings's attention in good time. They would have helped to rectify some of his statements regarding Handel's *concerti grossi*. Handel's 'great twelve' are not "all for strings and continuo"; four of them have parts for obligatory first and second oboes in the autograph as well as in the contemporary manuscript copy of the Granville Collection (Egerton 2944). The actual date of the wedding of the Princess Royal at which some part of Handel's oboe concertos, Op. 3 were first performed was 14 March 1734, not 1737 as stated (cf. the preface to the edition of Handel's so-called 'Balfour 145' concerto, Op. 3, no. 4 [Eulenburg, London 1957]; also O. E. Deutsch, 'Handel—a Documentary Biography' [London, 1955], p. 359—a reference book which is missing in Hutchings's otherwise impressive bibliography). In addition, the author's reference (p. 261) to Walsh's

'Select Harmony', 3rd Collection (1734) needs correction. The concerto "by a composer who remains anonymous" was identified by me in 1957 as a concerto by Handel from an early print of Op. 3—the so-called 'Balfour 145' concerto; and the remaining one of the Walsh collection is Handel's Op. 3, no. 5 in A minor—in a shortened version of two movements only—and not Op. 3, no. 4 as stated.

Finally, Hutchings's statements (p. 298 and *passim*) on Handel's Op. 6 and the alleged lack of information about the circumstances of its origin are untenable in the light of historic facts. Not only do we know all but one of the dates for the completion of each of the twelve concertos (Deutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 487), but we are also well informed about the degree of afterthought and spontaneity accompanying the mysterious act of birth of each masterpiece. Handel's autograph (located in the British Museum), the missing parts of which, referring to Op. 6, no. 5, I have since identified in the Fitzwilliam Library, Cambridge, tells a fascinating story of exchanged and replaced movements, revised sections and numerous variants, all of which the critical edition (now in process of publication) will tend to show in detail. If only Hutchings had consulted autographs and first editions in the case of Handel as carefully as in the case of the minor Italians mentioned above, these mistakes might never have occurred. But who can blame him for having slipped once or twice in a book of such encyclopedic content and extensive scope?

H. F. R.

Prokofiev. By Israel V. Nestyev. English translation by Florence Jonas. pp. xiv + 528. (Stanford University Press; Oxford University Press, London, 1961, 50s.)

The potentially rich field of Soviet musicology has in the main yielded surprisingly disappointing results. Its chief virtue has always been a thorough and painstaking ability to record, catalogue and collate material, if in an essentially unimaginative card-index fashion, and it is in consequence of this that the chief Soviet achievements up to the present have been the meticulous critical editions of their national composers, the fragmentary output of many of whom has offered a happy and rewarding hunting-ground for tidy-minded editors. In the more exacting field of musical biography their successes have been few, and their regrettable reluctance to collect between two covers the necessary biographical background with critical and analytical appraisal of a composer has resulted in wordy symposia and monographs on the one hand, and severely factual and impersonal biographies on the other, which are supplemented in some instances by carefully annotated collections of letters and reminiscences. It is rare, then, to find conveniently available all the relevant musical and biographical information one requires about a composer: indeed, to mention only the most striking omissions, it is incredible that no such standard work of reference exists for Glinka or any one of the 'Five'. For this reason alone Mr. Nestyev's achievement in the case of Prokofiev is one that must be applauded and welcomed. It is essentially an extension of his previous book on the composer (the English language edition of which was published in New York in 1946) and first appeared in the Soviet Union in 1957, four years after Prokofiev's death.

It appears that Mr. Nestyev was a close friend of the composer, but despite this his biographical sections are merely informative rather than revealing or perceptive, which may be accounted for by an understandable desire not to give offence to persons who were in close relationship to Prokofiev during his lifetime. This may explain why no attempt has been made to comment or throw any light on the break-up of his first marriage which, it has been thought, played some part in his decision to return to the Soviet Union after the disillusioning and restive years he spent in the West. Even in his factual account of Prokofiev's life Mr. Nestyev would seem to be inhibited, for although he acknowledges his indebtedness to the volume devoted to the composer's autobiography, reminiscences and writings, which appeared in an English translation last year, he has clearly felt obliged to refrain as far as possible from reproducing the material of this primary source, and has thus deprived his narrative of the more picturesque and vivid episodes which Prokofiev himself has given. For insight into Prokofiev's character, opinions and way of life this present account must take second place to the very clear picture which emerges from the autobiographical volume—though this, it should be borne in mind, does not go beyond 1936.

As if to offset his reluctance to embark on a detailed biographical and psychological analysis of his subject, Mr. Nestyev has instead chosen to present Prokofiev's achievements within the context of the general artistic, social and political history of the period concerned. Thus he has prefaced his account of Prokofiev's emergence as a recognized composer with his first piano concerto of 1912 by an over-simplified and tendentious, but none the less instructive, account of the period of reaction to what he terms the decadent and escapist excesses of Russian culture during the pre-revolutionary years, as represented by the symbolists, the World of Art group, Diaghilev, and the rarefied modernisms of Scriabin and Stravinsky. Dangerous as such a seemingly partisan interpretation of cultural history may appear, it must be admitted that in the present instance it has its possible merit, for it is not too fanciful to imagine that Prokofiev's own account of contemporary artistic fashions would have been very similar to those of his biographer.

However, it is important not to misinterpret the intended scope of Mr. Nestyev's work, which he has himself defined quite clearly in his preface. His aim, he says, has been to combine a biography with an analysis of Prokofiev's entire output which by virtue of his avoidance of specialized musical terminology would be intelligible to a wide audience, but for this reason, and because of the large number of works involved, would necessarily be of a general rather than detailed nature. Given this modest aim it must be said that he has succeeded in what he set out to do, and that until another analysis of Prokofiev's work appears this book will be an invaluable source of reference. But as in the biographical sections, the analytical and critical commentary on the music is chiefly notable for its wealth of information and documentation rather than for the author's ability to elucidate the structure or the character of the music, and for this reason the concluding chapter on stylistic features is disappointingly jejune. He has done some useful historical work in selecting the more significant Press reviews of the major works, though his desire to make

Prokofiev's close friends Asafiev (the critic Igor Glebov) and Miaskovsky "along with the composer himself the *dramatis personae* of this narrative" has resulted, especially in the case of the latter, in a series of remarkably uninteresting and facile quotations. Again, the book affords us our first opportunity in England to acquire some knowledge, however insufficient it may be, of such unknown works as the 'Symphonic Song', Op. 57, the 'Ballad of the Unknown Boy', Op. 93, the operas on Soviet themes and some of the works of the last period which are not yet known in this country.

Such are the obvious merits of the book, and it implies no condescension to the author to say that under existing conditions in the Soviet Union one could hardly expect a book of this avowed modest scope on so demanding a theme to have been better done. At the same time the work must be read and used with caution by those unacquainted with Prokofiev's output or the extent to which Soviet writers are prepared to pay lip-service to established standards of judgment. These are, of course, serious limitations which cannot be lightly ignored or condoned, yet this condition of things is regrettably so familiar that to express surprise or excessive indignation would be merely to betray a singular innocence of the ways of Soviet life. In fact Mr. Nestyev does not offend quite so blatantly as some in this respect. He makes no attempt to excuse Prokofiev's flight from Russia on the eve of the Revolution, and asks: "How could it have happened that he did not hear the true music of the Revolution, that his works bear no trace even of the fiery rhythms of the revolutionary songs which filled the air of Russian cities at that time?". Again, although he gives a shamefully one-sided, official account of the Zhdanov musical scandal of 1948, he faithfully records the enthusiastic reception which its precipitating cause, the magnificent sixth symphony, initially received from two important papers, which failed to note any 'contradictions' in the work, and he adds with emphatic under-statement, which is a Soviet critic's strongest weapon, that "shortly afterwards this evaluation was substantially revised". But there is no escaping the fact that, apart from these occasional instances of independence which can be read between the lines, the majority of Mr. Nestyev's judgments are dictated by ulterior considerations. The works which suffer most from this one-sided viewpoint are, of course, those of Prokofiev's foreign period, the excesses and miscalculations of which are blandly ascribed to his loss of touch with native sources of inspiration and the "devitalizing effects of an alien environment". No one will deny that this was indeed a critical period of transition, experiment and susceptibility to novel ideas for Prokofiev, but it also saw the birth of great and challenging works which will be remembered and performed when many of the almost effete but officially much admired works of his last period will long have revealed—perhaps even in the Soviet Union—their essential decline in quality. Another persistent failing is that throughout the book Mr. Nestyev is too ready to underestimate or dismiss a work on the basis of an unfavourable first performance and consequently to deprive us of what would be very welcome information and discussion about it.

This biography is the familiar frustrating mixture of the valuable and the inevitable which only the greatest Soviet artists occasionally manage to transcend. On the one hand we have what is undoubtedly a major achieve-

ment of Soviet musicology and a well-presented, useful piece of documentation, and on the other a sadly limited, biased and often superficial study of the works and mind of one of the unquestionably great and challenging figures of twentieth-century music. In view of the lack of relevant material hitherto, no one interested in Prokofiev can afford to be without it or fail to find it interesting and informative, yet at the same time no such person can feel content with it. The author's hope that his work will help to popularize Prokofiev's music and further scholarly study of it will doubtless be realized, though if and when this happens outside the Soviet Union it will be born out of provocation rather than satisfaction.

The book has been remarkably well translated by Florence Jonas, who has skilfully succeeded in the well-nigh impossible task of giving to flat, cliché-ridden Soviet prose something of the variety and style demanded by English readers.

D. L.-J.

Experimental Music. By L. A. Hiller & L. M. Isaacson. pp. 197. (McGraw-Hill, London, 1959, 50s. 6d.)

The title of this book is to be taken literally, but in a narrow sense. Though brief notes are included on some modern techniques of composing on paper and on tape, the central account is of four experiments undertaken by the authors with the help of a high-speed digital computer. The language of their report will be unfamiliar to the musician; as they have done much to interpret mathematical processes in terms he can understand, he will be patient with some labouring of musical points for the benefit of the mathematician reader. But the anxiety to present the results in a musically cohesive as well as intelligible form has led them to patch together numerous samples produced in the experiments as four continuous pieces of texture allocated to a string quartet, printed in an appendix and already performed as the 'Illiad Suite'. This thrusts an emphasis on the computer as composer which it can hardly bear, and may distract attention from the interesting and valuable lessons it has to offer.

The human composer is concerned with the ordering of a vast stock of musical elements. From this endless but indifferent supply he selects, partly by acknowledged codes of procedure and partly by the less definable dictates of an experience that recalls, consciously or otherwise, aesthetic as well as technical parallels in existing music. By establishing simple numerical equivalents for pitches, rhythmic units and so on, the computer can be made to set out from the same supply, constantly reviewed in all its disorder by means of random number generation. So far it can teach us nothing more of randomness than we can learn from Mr. Cage's use of I-Ching, though still enough to demonstrate how difficult it would be for a composer to attempt to reproduce such an effect by taking thought (or rather, by seeking to free himself from that tendency). At later stages in the experiments this inability to exclude subconscious decisions in manipulating the material begins to emerge as so powerful a factor in creating shapes we find meaningful that it becomes obvious how limited are our conventional analyses of technique.

This applies even to an idiom as restrictive as strict counterpoint. In the most involved of their experiments the authors built into the computer's

programme provisions for meeting sixteen rules of melodic and harmonic movement. Their ingenuity in devising codes for familiar processes like the elimination of consecutives or the resolution of tritones qualified the random nature of the output until it became tolerably grammatical four-part texture. Any teacher would recognize it as the work of a determined but singularly unmusical pupil, and would be able to offer good *ad hoc* suggestions for its improvement. The computer profits from these only if they are converted into coded instructions, and for the finer points these would tend to involve simultaneously a large number of considerations. But as the effect of any postulated proviso can be determined at once in the end-product, we have here an infallible check on the accuracy of our analysis, and one which is applicable to the rationale of any style.

The experimental treatment of rhythm was directed more towards discovering new potentialities and regulating mechanisms. Here the haphazard generation of the sixteen permutations of quaver units in $\frac{4}{8}$ metre was qualified by random-number decisions as to the number of bars for which each pattern should operate, while another set of decisions regulated the rhythmic unanimity or opposition of the four strands. Dynamics and methods of attack were similarly coded, but pitches were at first freely selected by the computer from the chromatic total and then qualified merely by restrictions of range, conjunct/disjunct melodic desiderata and tritone resolution. That the resulting music is monotonous is partly due to allowing up to twelve bars' rhythmic repetition; that it is a not wildly implausible imitation of some bad modern music (post-Bartók rather than post-Webern) is an instructive commentary on the indirect relation between complexity of means and ends.

After confirming the obvious but not particularly valuable ease of note-row generation and permutational manipulation with the computer, the authors made no attempt to draw up a coding for a twelve-note process of composition or for multiple serialization. (The machine would handle the advance decisions of the latter as surely as those of strict counterpoint and without the further problems presented by judging the product according to a universally recognized norm.) Instead they investigated melodic, harmonic and extended tonal relationships. By weighting to varying extents the probability of the occurrence of intervals according to their harmonic and/or melodic value, it was possible to intensify or attenuate those properties of the texture. Plotting these intervals without relating each to the previous one produced atonality (no matter how consonant the individual moves), while plotting them in relation to the initial note produced a rooted tonal sensation; an interesting compromise related strong beats in $\frac{4}{8}$ back to the tonal centre and related weak quavers to each strong beat with a weighting in favour of conjunct probabilities. The tonal centre was changed in the course of a piece in the order I-IV-V-I, so that the computer controlled for the first time more than a few bars. No attempt was made to regulate the vertical relationship of the lines in this experiment, and to do so would require much more restrictive coding. But there is nothing to prevent this, and the results would undoubtedly tell us a good deal that has never been systematically clarified concerning the regulation (and in particular the tonality) of contemporary music.

Since the computer merely carries out the instructions of the operator to their logical conclusion, it can never improve on the random except by his considered decisions. These may help to isolate what we have not yet accounted for in existing music, or to check a hypothesis relevant to new music, and they may eventually counterfeit familiar styles. But there are no grounds here for the composer's abdication.

P. A. E.

Anuario Musical. Vol. XIV (1959). pp. 230. (Instituto Español de Musicología, Barcelona, 1961.)

We have had some very interesting volumes of the 'Anuario' in the past. In the beginning there was something like a balance held between notes on early Spanish composers, or documents for research in various directions, and folklore subjects—tunes and instruments still extant. Gradually this changed, and by the eighth volume ('Centenario de la muerte de Cristóbal de Morales') the volume was what we would now call 'full of musicological essays'. The folklorists will no doubt object, but one does draw a distinction between the two, even if much of the scientific technique and equipment is needed for both. By now the pattern of this annual production is clear, and even if the year of publication falls a little behind the actual date the contents are no less welcome.

Certain names have appeared throughout the series—Anglés, Querol, Schneider, Kastner and Subirá—all very well known as experts in their fields, and it is not surprising therefore to find them here again. The indefatigable Monsignor Anglés has some interesting things to say about his discoveries in troubadour music. Thirty years ago he was already in the forefront of musicological studies and there has since been a remarkable progress from the 'Música a Catalunya' and the fine edition of the Huelgas manuscripts to the revision of the edition of the 'Cantigas de Santa María' (1943 & 1958). In the present essay of some twenty pages, amply illustrated by quotations of music by Riquier, Ventadorn, etc., he points out some interesting comparisons with popular music—a theme which he has spoken about before. Where Anglés indicates a line of thought, usually a mine of further development is to be found. He is obviously the inspiration behind another interesting article on the polyphonic music and the composers of León Cathedral during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is an extract from a large work shortly to be published and covering the whole of the ecclesiastical music of León from the tenth to the eighteenth centuries. No doubt the archives of many other prominent churches will be made to give up their secrets before long. There is no doubt that the movement in Spain initiated by Felipe Pedrell, and carried on so admirably by Monsignor Anglés, is bearing much fruit. In a country where tradition in isolation is very strong and where conservation is a natural tendency we must expect to find eventually many treasures and revealing manuscripts—even after such devastations have occurred as the last Civil War and the frequent disturbances of former revolutions and the pillage of the Napoleonic wars.

In line with the article by Pérez, Santiago Kastner gives a very good account of Palencia and its organists in the sixteenth century. We have come to respect Kastner's painstaking work and to look forward to

whatever he produces, and all these excursions into cathedral history are so many brightly coloured pieces of mosaic which eventually will give us a complete picture of Medieval and Renaissance Spanish musical life. I have picked out the foregoing articles not because the rest are necessarily inferior but because these three represent one important aspect of the 'Anuario', which is to present at least in a nutshell some of the work which enhances the musicological centres of Spain. Even in the well-trodden paths we have been able to make new discoveries and new assessments. How much more so in the great untouched fields of Spanish music—which may well give fresh light on a hundred and one problems.

P. E. P.

Verdi. Vol. I, No. 2. (Istituto di Studi Verdiani, Parma.)

The second Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of Verdi continues the detailed discussion of 'Un ballo in maschera' and the account of Verdi's life at the time of its composition. There are also articles on subsidiary matters more or less connected with the opera, and one or two on more general subjects.

Frank Walker continues his researches on untrodden ground in an identification of a lost song, 'L'Abandonée', by Verdi, a copy of which was lately acquired by the British Museum. This copy was published in Paris in 1882, having been acquired by the publishers from the executors of Léon Escudier, its original publisher. Mr. Walker has not been able to track down a copy of the first edition but has discovered a version with Italian and German words published by Schott in 1849. This has on its cover a picture of a woman, who bears (as Mr. Walker points out) a striking resemblance to Giuseppina Strepponi, with whom Verdi was living in Paris when the song was composed and dedicated to her. Mr. Walker's surmise that the cover was taken from the French original seems to have added confirmation in the fact that the voice-part in this German edition is marked 'Chant'—which suggests that Schott may have obtained the plates from Escudier and substituted the Italian and German texts for the French. The song is no great matter in itself, but it has a personal and, if you will, sentimental interest for admirers of Verdi.

Another article, by Mario Medici, gives an account of *quel prete*, as Verdi called him, who performed the belated and almost secret marriage ceremony between Verdi and Giuseppina at Collonges. This priest was the Abbé Mermillod, Rector of Notre Dame in Geneva, who later became Bishop of Lausanne and Geneva and was created a cardinal in 1890. He was, indeed, a distinguished Roman Catholic churchman and, it seems, a broad-minded one. It was Verdi's anti-clericalism, born of the intrigues that thwarted his early ambition to become organist at Busseto and reinforced by his political liberalism, that led him to refer to this good friend in a somewhat contemptuous tone. Giuseppina has an article to herself—an admirable character-sketch by Edmondo de Amicis, who knew her well. Originally published in 1902 and now not easily accessible, this account of Verdi's wife was well worth rescuing from oblivion.

Of the major articles, Massimo Mila's, which completes his analysis of the variations in the published scores of 'Un ballo in maschera', is the most important. It clearly establishes the fact that glosses by various

hands on the original texts have been allowed to establish themselves in print, though they have no authority and are not even consistent. Summarizing his conclusions he makes a strong case for a reversion to the first edition of the opera "wiped clean of the plethora of markings that have grown up like mushrooms". His argument is reinforced by a communication from Denis Vaughan, who has been forcefully demanding a critical edition of Verdi's works for several years. In his contribution to the Bulletin he makes some interesting points about Verdi's practice in marking his scores, as evidenced in the manuscripts he has been able to study and collate with the published editions.

As before, the articles are printed in Italian, English and German. The English translations are generally well done, though Verdi's priest is not accurately described in English as an 'abbot', and it is unfortunate that Oscar is referred to throughout as "the page-boy", as though he were not a young aristocrat at the Court but a hotel bell-hop.

D. H.

Musical Thought. By Carlos Chávez. pp. 126. (Harvard University Press; Oxford University Press, London, 1961, 36s.)

This is not a complete system of musical aesthetics but rather, as the author himself says, a putting together of "scattered and wandering thoughts". It is in fact the text of six Charles Eliot Norton Lectures delivered at Harvard during 1958-9; and if Mr. Chávez is never as iconoclastic or as obscure as Stravinsky (a previous occupant of the chair), he does introduce us to a number of challenging ideas. The core of his musical philosophy is contained in the following sentence:

Sounds, and their particular relationships, stimulate a specific sense in us, the musical sense, having nothing to do with ideas as such, with logical thoughts, with literary images, with plastic or colored sensations, with poetic metaphors, with sadness or joy, with everyday contingencies, or anything else.

Elsewhere we are told that sounds are to musical language what words are to literary language and numbers to mathematical language. Now it would be quite true to say that a novel or a poem stimulates our literary sense, just as a symphony may stimulate our musical sense. We also know that the business of literature is to communicate ideas and concepts. But although Mr. Chávez has a chapter on 'Art as Communication', we are nowhere told what it is that music communicates. On the whole it seems better to agree with Deryck Cooke that the purpose of music is to evoke an emotional response from the listener.

It would be idle to criticize in detail all the statements in this book to which exception might be taken. Who is to say which composers are the 'immortals' of music? Was Beethoven really "the first to conceive [music] well and thoroughly"? It is quite true that "his preoccupation with the accuracy of tempi was outstanding"; but Mr. Chávez, in his perfectly justifiable anxiety to protect music from wilful alterations on the part of the performer, forgets that Beethoven's experiments with the metronome were notoriously unsuccessful. Moreover, even in our own day, when metronomic accuracy is a real possibility, many composers are content to give approximate markings. The author is on much surer ground in the chapters on form and repetition. Here the craftsman speaks with all the authority of experience. "In music . . . the various devices used to integrate

form are, again and again, nothing but methods of repetition." Quantities of Beethoven and Stravinsky are analysed from this point of view. The discussion of a part of 'Threni' is particularly interesting, for it shows how far Stravinsky has departed in his twelve-note music from Schönberg's principle that "no note is to be repeated before the other eleven have appeared". The role of repetition in the music of the future is also considered. The whole subject is obviously a matter of special interest to a composer who, being a Mexican, is indebted both to European culture and to the influence of Indian civilizations. His whole artistic background is dealt with in what is the most absorbing section of the book; for to the European the music of Latin America is still something of a blind spot. This part of the world has yet to produce its great composer; but the author of the present volume is able to show both by his writings and by his own music that the way is being paved for a future genius. J. A. C.

Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus. By Robert Stevenson. pp. xiv + 335. (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1960, g.59-50.)

Robert Stevenson must certainly be commended for this useful compilation. The popular histories of Trend and Chase, while readable, did not contain any vital new facts, and indeed were too early to take advantage of the ever mounting store of knowledge coming from Barcelona. Stevenson has had the advantage of this and also the extraordinary growth of knowledge in general during the last ten years. This book is essentially one of reference and provides a handy sizeable volume within which the student will find all he is ever likely to need to know about Spanish music up to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Another volume on 'Cathedral Music in the Golden Age' is scheduled for this year, and no doubt the secular music of the same period will be dealt with in due course.

The format is good. The arrangement of chapters and subjects for the chapters, logical and satisfying, leads one to build up a picture of the general Spanish musical scene without a great deal of searching and correlating. The student will like the summaries at the end of each relevant chapter, but I am not usually very happy about such things. It is too easy to reduce one's own impressions and predilections to formulas instead of offering a purely objective summary of facts. Indeed Stevenson's detailed information is so good that the summaries tend to seem perfunctory by comparison. The chapters on liturgical music and secular polyphony are both well done, especially the second half of the former, which deals with cathedral polyphony of the fifteenth century. Quite a number of names—which were just names—now find their places as identified choirmasters and composers. Of the two dozen or so people mentioned, several are singled out, rightly so, for more extensive treatment. Stevenson's comments on their style are apt and objective enough to be useful in building up an idea of the growth of polyphonic skill and tradition at this time, especially in view of the fact that he will be continuing this theme in the forthcoming volume on the succeeding period of church music.

The chapter on secular polyphony in the reign of the Catholic monarchs deals with two collections—the Cancionero Colombina and the Cancionero de Palacio. The Colombina manuscript has not been

edited, although its contents have been made known several times and quite a number of the songs are in the Palacio book. Here, Stevenson goes into some detail and gives sufficient examples and criticisms to enable the student to feel he knows something about this important early collection. As would be expected, in considering the *Cancionero de Palacio*, the outstanding composer Juan de Encina receives considerable treatment. Encina excelled as a poet, playwright and composer, and his individuality is very apparent in his music. We have here a good exposition of his style and his methods. Other composers of some prominence also receive sufficient exposition to enable the student to form an opinion about this remarkable collection of songs.

If I have been stressing the word 'student' it is not because I consider this to be merely a student manual—far from it. This is a detailed and considerably accurate account of our knowledge of early Spanish music, but it is not a readable history and for that reason it is more suitable for the man looking for facts than for one who expects to be swept enthusiastically along by eloquent prose or a finely judged and balanced historical survey. English readers will no doubt find some irritating procedures and those who like their narratives to flow will find themselves halted time and time again. The notes are good but they are too much concerned with minute criticisms of slips or very minor errors on the part of others. Those to whom this matters will have sufficient knowledge and powers of judgment to see these for themselves without having them pointed out on every occasion. All in all, however, this is a useful and welcome volume of what could be a series on this exciting period of Spanish musical history.

P. E. P.

Juan Bermudo. By Robert Stevenson. pp. 97. (Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1960, g.9.50.)

In 1957 and 1958 two books were produced by Bärenreiter—facsimiles of Bermudo and Salinas respectively. Many of us who had been engaged in studying the history of Spanish music were very grateful to Santiago Kastner for his efforts to see that these two famous theoretical volumes were made available to scholars. Now Stevenson has written a monograph around the Bermudo book. As a Franciscan, I have always had tremendous pride in the somewhat wayward men of the various branches of the Order who have been so unconventional as to become experts in various arts and sciences. In the musical world it was Martini who held the field until my interest in things Spanish led me to Bermudo (of the Franciscan Observants)—a quite remarkable man, learned and persuasive, yet typically Franciscan in his genial approach to learning and the almost casual manner in which he throws off ideas and suggestions.

If I were to suggest anything about Stevenson's book it might be that he does not understand Bermudo as a man. We must admit an indebtedness to him for having digested the mass of information in the 'Declaracion' and having reduced it to a forty-page summary, as well as surrounding it with other matter of interest. But I cannot help thinking that a great deal of the surround is of no great consequence. Most modern scholars are aware that many of the famous names of fifty years ago relied on third-

hand or fourth-hand information, that many of them worked more by intuition than science. But these were the people who gave the impetus and the dignity to the whole business of musical research, and we should be grateful to them for this. Greater knowledge, science, ability should not diminish our affection and respect for many of these great personalities. It is always distressing when these men are 'exposed' because they did not verify original sources, or in many cases did not even see the manuscript. While many will find this monograph on Bermudo a handy means of finding out what Bermudo taught and believed, it will also be fairly clear that quite a number of scholars will not appreciate particularly the 'Annotated Bibliography' chapter. The next chapter on 'Introductory Matter' is better in that it becomes more objective and less polemical. Much of the detail, however, tends to become irritating and one has the feeling that the author is bogging himself down in a mass of information.

It would be a pity if this review were to read like a stricture on a scholarly piece of work, but a little more objectivity and a broader view of the whole of musical research would be more beneficial. I should have been a great deal happier with more general expositions of the genuine originality of Bermudo in comparison with his contemporaries, and of his influence as a theorist. For those whose Spanish is not very good and who do not know a great deal about early sixteenth-century Spanish music, this may be a useful addition to the library. It could have been much more.

P. E. P.

Catalog of the Emilie and Karl Riemenschneider Memorial Bach Library. Ed. by Sylvia W. Kenney. pp. xv + 295. (Columbia University Press; Oxford University Press, London, 1961, 60s.)

This Bach collection—formed by the late Dr. Albert Riemenschneider, though named after his parents—falls into three main sections. First, there are 520 items of Bach literature, including most of the standard books down to about 1954 but surprisingly few periodicals; secondly, there is a little music by sons and contemporaries of J. S. Bach; thirdly, some 2,000 items devoted to the music of J. S. Bach himself. This last section includes a dozen manuscripts, of which one is important—H. N. Gerber's copy of the '48', book I. The present transcription of the title differs from Rust's in the Bach-Gesellschaft, vol. XXIII, p. xiv, most notably in the date. There are four 'original editions': the clavier Partitas (1731), the 'Goldberg Variations' (title-page missing), Pölchau's copy of the 'Canonic Variations', and the 'Art of Fugue' (1752). There are also various photostats and published facsimiles, and, for the rest, most of the editions that are worth having and a good many that are not. As is well known, Riemenschneider's collection of editions of the '48', running to about 115 items, is almost complete. Apart from the '48', the collection is rich in early nineteenth-century editions and would make a good starting-point for a long overdue bibliographical study of these editions.

I am not a librarian, and no doubt I look at this catalogue from an unprofessional point of view; but it seems to me badly arranged, inadequately cross-referenced, and therefore unnecessarily difficult to use. The photostats and published facsimiles are, in some ways, the most useful items in the collection, and ought to have been listed separately.

As it is, one can trace the photostats only by ploughing through all the 2,000 items; and it is no easier to trace the facsimiles, unless one already knows which works have been published in that form. Again, to see the organ collection as a whole one has to look not only under Organ Works, but also under Chorale Preludes, Chorale Variations, Concertos, Fantasie, Fugues, Pastorale, Preludes, Preludes and Fugues, Sonatas, and Toccatas. Under the first of these headings one finds the usual editions of the complete organ works; but in one case (no. 1959) only part of the edition appears here, the rest of it being listed under Chorale Preludes (no. 1489), with no cross-reference. The Passacaglia is listed under Fugues; the 'French Overture' under 'Italienisches Konzert' and also under Partitas. It is true that in both these cases the index provides the necessary references; but this is a cumbrous and illogical method of cataloguing, and in any case the 'French Overture' is not a Partita. Besides, one cannot always trust the index, whose compiler seems to have imagined that the 'Fuga alla giga' has a Prelude, and to have confused it with the great G major (BWV 541). In passing, it may be observed that this catalogue, like our BBC, uses S. instead of BWV, although it is well known that Dr. Schmieder objects to this use of his initial.

Take, again, the two-hand duets of the 'Dritter Theil der Clavier-übung'. These works have a heading of their own, covering four modern editions and an arrangement (nos. 1669-73); but there is no cross-reference to something much more important—no. 1499, a set of photostats of the original edition of the 'Dritter Theil'. At least, I suppose the duets are included in the photostats, for there are said to be 77 pages of music, which would be correct. On the other hand, the photostats are listed along with two editions of the 'Dritter Theil' that do not include the duets and under a heading that expressly excludes them. Furthermore, the original edition was printed twice; which impression were the photostats taken from?

But any catalogue is better than none; and this one, with all its awkwardness, does at least give information that has not hitherto been generally available. It throws light on Clara Schumann's knowledge of Bach—or would do, if anyone had the energy to follow up the clue given under no. 550. It shows that Wesley and Horn had issued organ sonatas V and VI by 30 November and 29 October 1810 respectively; and the Riemenschneider copies have the title-page in its second form. These limiting dates should be added to my commentary on the sonatas. Again, I knew of three early editions of the 'XV Simphonies' (Three-part Inventions): (1) Hoffmeister and Kühnel, (2) au Bureau de Musique, (3) Propriété de l'Editeur, au Bureau de Musique. In my copies of nos. 2 and 3 the music occupies pp. 2-19. Riemenschneider no. 1788 has the imprint of my no. 2, but the pagination runs to 20 pages. It seems, therefore, that between 1801 and about 1810 (or 1814 at latest) these works were issued four times—an interesting sidelight on the popularity of Bach in the earliest days of the revival. And so on.

In spite of its faults, as they seem to me, this catalogue is very welcome. The Riemenschneider Library is limited, as all one-man collections are bound to be; but within those limits it is an excellent working library, and it will be all the more useful now that its contents are known.

W. E.

A Century and a Half in Soho. pp. 85. (Novello, London, 1961, 10s. 6d.)

To the vulgar mind Soho does not suggest music publishing. Yet it is here that most of the moguls of this profession have congregated. Novello's have been in the neighbourhood ever since Vincent Novello issued his first publications from Oxford Street, though there were temporary migrations to Bedford Square, Covent Garden and Lincoln's Inn. The firm's initial success was due to the fact that they embarked on a policy of publishing cheap music at a time when it was generally assumed that it ought to be expensive. If their publications no longer strike the music-lover as cheap, that is due to the rise in the cost of living, which not even music publishers can control. It was J. Alfred Novello who set the firm on its feet, but it was the Littleton family who made it prosperous and who in fact still direct it. Although there has not been a Novello in the business since Alfred retired in 1857, it has been very much a family affair, and Harold Brooke (1880-1956), to whom the firm owes so much, was himself a grandson of Henry Littleton.

The present account—the work of an anonymous author or group of authors—steers its way happily between a becoming modesty and pride in achievement. No reference is made to the fact that the firm has published a good deal that is now worthless and cannot have been worth very much in the first place; but this is legitimate, since the same is true of every other publisher in the kingdom. Music publishers, like book publishers, have to cater for a market: it is exciting and adventurous to back someone who may turn out to be a winner (Elgar, for example, or Holst), but the adventure has to be supported by something for which there is certain to be a demand. I could have wished, however, that the author or authors had been a little more frank about the firm's activity as book publishers. It is true that they have issued a number of works of first-class importance, but it is equally true that most of these have appeared in a format which hardly does justice to a long experience of printing and bookbinding. Fortunately this inelegant dowdiness seems now to be a thing of the past; and certainly the present volume—an ornament to anyone's bookshelves—makes handsome compensation for any earlier shortcomings. 150 years is by no means a record in the history of music publishing, but it is at any rate a matter for reasonable satisfaction. The visitor to what has been called the Wardour Street cathedral may feel that he has strayed into an environment which has little contact with the present; but a glance at Novello's current catalogues would soon dispel this impression. The old dog is very much alive.

J. A. W.

An index to the first forty volumes of *Music & Letters* (1920-59) will be published by the Oxford University Press early in 1962. An order form will be supplied with the January issue.

REVIEWS OF MUSIC

COLLECTED EDITIONS

The Eton Choirbook. Vol. III, ed. by Frank Ll. Harrison. 'Musica Britannica', Vol. XII. (Stainer & Bell, London, 1961, £4 4s.)

The completion of the edition of the Eton choirbook makes available to scholars and performers the principal works of the early Tudor school of church composition, namely 50 complete compositions together with five incomplete pieces and the incipits of another ten fragmentary works. All the complete works in the present volume are in four or five parts, except for Wykynson's thirteen-part rota 'Jesus autem/Credo in deum', which has already been published in Dr. Harrison's 'Music in Medieval Britain'. These compositions are divided among composers as follows: Lambe (5), Browne, Turges and Cornish (2 each), Nesbett, Horwood, Kellyk, Fayrfax, Stratford, Davy and Wykynson (1 each). The five incomplete pieces are by Davy, Horwood, Fayrfax, Wykynson and Holynborne respectively.

In addition to the polyphonic antiphons which predominate in Eton the new volume contains six complete Magnificats and a St. Matthew Passion, the latter by Davy. This, as usual, sets polyphonically only passages which are not spoken by Christ or the Evangelist. The editor, therefore, had to provide text and music for the plainsong sections, which are based on six early manuscripts and the printed Sarum Gradual of 1527. Moreover, further editorial work was necessary to decide on the pitch of the reciting notes, often given at a conventional, rather than the actual, level in the sources. The entire Passion is an imposing composition no less than 23 pages long.

The Magnificats are sadly depleted in the Eton manuscript: out of an original total of 24 only four are left complete. Fayrfax's 'Regale' Magnificat is published after the Lambeth choirbook, and Nesbett's composition, incomplete in Eton, after the Carver or Scone choirbook. The fact that plainsong alternates with polyphony means that each relatively short polyphonic section has its own texture as a rule, although short duet sections may appear anywhere. Stratford's work is a typical example: it generally alternates four-part with three-part texture as follows (commas separate individual sections): 4, 3, 4, 3, 4, 3>4. The final, climactic section actually has a duet dividing the three-part section into two halves. Fayrfax's musically outstanding 'Regale' Magnificat has a more complex arrangement: 5, 3, 5>3>2>5, 4>3, 3, 2>3>2>5. It is also noteworthy that all the Magnificats begin in $\frac{3}{4}$ time, change to $\frac{4}{4}$ at 'Fecit potentiam' and return to $\frac{3}{4}$ at 'Sicut locutus'. This ABA procedure is a striking contrast to the AB layout of the antiphons.

In the preface to Vol. III biographical notes are given concerning the few composers not represented in preceding volumes, though little information is in fact forthcoming. Stratford presumably comes from the

Stratford which is now part of London, and may be the Parker, monk of Stratford, who has a song in Royal App. 58 in the British Museum. A. J. Holynghorne has been traced at Christ Church, Canterbury, and an R. Holynghorne at Canterbury College, Oxford, but neither is known to have been a musician and the Eton composer is known only by his surname. Nesbett is doubtless the J. Nesbett of the Cambridge manuscript Pepys 1236, and Turges may be the Edmund Turges who joined the Guild of St. Nicholas in London in 1469. Turges has a larger repertory than most of these lesser men. Apart from the two 'Gaude flore virginali' settings in Eton, there is a very ornate and rhythmically complex Magnificat in the Caius choirbook, a Kyrie and Gloria in Add. 5665 of the British Museum and four songs in the 'Fayrfax Book' (Add. 5465).

The editorial procedure consistently follows that of preceding volumes (*cf.* my review of Vol. II in *Music and Letters*, xl [1959], p. 388). Appendix I containing plainsong melodies used as *cantus firmi* draws mainly on the 'Antiphonale Sarisburicense' as before, but we are also given the Sarum tone for Passions. The list of manuscript abbreviations is the same as for Vol. II, but the editor fails to take into account two studies of the Carver manuscript (Denis Stevens in *Musica Disciplina*, xiii [1959], pp. 155-67 and Kenneth Elliott in *Music and Letters*, xli [1960], pp. 349-57) when he says that an accurate catalogue has yet to be printed. He might also have been less modest and have mentioned his own inventory of the Eton manuscript in *Annales Musicologiques*, i (1953), pp. 151-75.

The present volume not only contains the usual very copious critical notes but also all the unpublished texts as Appendix II, a list of the contents of the Eton manuscript in its original state, including the compass of each piece, an index of titles, an index of composers with their works in alphabetical order, and finally a list of errata in all three volumes of the edition. Comprehensiveness could hardly go further. In his edition of the texts the editor omits virtually all punctuation, though punctuation is applied normally in the transcriptions. Presumably he wanted the text edition to be a diplomatic one. At all events, it is certainly a help to have the poetic texts arranged so that the verse form can be easily appraised. Faced by such a fine piece of work as this edition obviously is, it would be churlish to dig out minor errors, which have in any case clearly been eradicated as far as a fine toothcomb will allow. Instead, let us be grateful that great music has found an editor who so well combines in his work exact musicological method with the insight of the practical musician.

G. R.

Purcell, Henry, *Dioclesian*, ed. by J. Frederick Bridge & John Pointer. Revised ed. by Margaret Laurie. Purcell Society Edition, Vol. IX. (Novello, London, 1961, £5 5s.)

It is wonderful to be able to greet the re-issue of a masterpiece. A foreign reader might find such wonderment incredible, but we have been so long inured to the inaccessibility of some of our own treasures that the Purcell Society is entitled to a paean or two. The original editors of 'Dioclesian' in 1900 were Frederick Bridge and John Pointer. It says much for their integrity that Miss Laurie, after collating the sources, was able to use the original plates with only a tiny number of alterations of

the notes. There were of course overwhelming economic reasons for doing so, but her commentary does not betray any places where a less acceptable version remains in the text. A consequence of using the same plates is that the tenor vocal line remains in the C clef and the keyboard reduction is unaltered (in one instance on p. 128 it disagrees with new accidentals). It may be objected that it should have been replaced by a 'proper continuo part', but this, even if a brave enough editor could be found, would have been a ridiculously expensive hostage to present, let alone future, fortune. As it stands the keyboard part is an acceptable arrangement of the whole accompaniment, suitable for a rehearsal without other instruments. Any properly taught music student should know what to do with it when the other instruments are available.

The main additions are the editorial suggestions for adding short shakes and trills, for 'double dotting' and for the occasional inequality of slurred quavers. All of them seem unexceptionable, although on p. 56, bar 13 the editorial 'inequality' fits only if a reading is adopted which is not in the printed text and which if adopted ought to be on all three beats. Miss Laurie makes it clear that for Purcell 'flute' means 'recorder' and she has shown where the bass ought to be undertaken by the bassoon. She has indicated *hemiola* cadence rhythms and has found some figures for the bass of 'When first I saw'. I. K.

Purcell, Henry, *Sacred Music*, Part V: Anthems, ed. by Anthony Lewis & Nigel Fortune. Purcell Society Edition, Vol. XXIX. (Novello, London, 1960, £5 5s.)

The publication of this volume means that there is now only one more volume due to complete the Society's edition of Purcell's anthems. This is a most welcome, not to say overdue, state of affairs for which all musicians are grateful. There can be no doubt of the high quality of scholarship and musicianship which both editors have brought to their difficult task. They present a reliable working text, with enough background information to satisfy even the most fastidious scholar, leaving most interpretative problems to the performer but providing a discreet continuo where required.

There are in all fifteen anthems. All except one ('O God, the King of glory', p. 108) are verse anthems. The scoring of the verse sections varies from the normal SATB, through SSATB, ATB, TTB to the more exotic groupings 2S ('O Lord, rebuke me not', p. 168), SSA ('O God, thou hast cast us out', p. 120) and 3S with 2B ('O Lord, our Governor', p. 152). The chorus is normally in four parts, but there are examples with SSATB, SSAATTB ('O God, thou hast cast us out', p. 120) and double choir ('O Lord God of hosts', p. 130). Three anthems have an accompaniment scored for strings: 'My song shall be alway' (p. 51: four-part), 'O give thanks' (p. 88: three-part) and 'O Lord, grant the King' (p. 141: three-part). The editors' accuracy is scrupulous, perhaps on occasion too much so: do we really need to be told that "quotations here and in the Commentary have not been modernised" (p. xv), and if a square bracket does not indicate editorial additions what does it do (see Gloucester [1] and [2], p. xvii)? Indications of 'Verse' are missing from pp. 143, 146 (and 148?) of 'O Lord, grant the King'. The chorus parts in this anthem could hardly be called demanding—eight 'Amen's', with acres of trio and ritornello.

On p. xii appears a most irritating notice: "The editorial matter on pp. xiii-xx, though substantially the same as in Vol. 28, does contain some revisions". Why cannot these revisions be indicated? As it stands, one has to plough through both lists of sources concurrently to elicit the new information. This is mainly as follows: (i) The Finney manuscript belonged to the Rev. William Gostling; (ii) St. Paul's part-books are mainly in the hand of Stephen Bing (not John Gostling) and seem to have been begun in the 1670's; (iii) Tenbury MSS. 797-803 are in the hand of John Gostling; (iv) Tenbury MSS. 1176-82 are in the hand of John Gostling (not William Gostling); (v) York—the Gostling part-books: Stephen Bing was a lay-clerk at Westminster Abbey (not the Chapel Royal), 1678-9. The date of the last works which he copied in this source was 1683 (not 1686). There are two other hands, one of them being that of John Gostling; (vi) York—Knight manuscript: "On a fly-leaf is written 7br. 1702 John Goldwyn". There are also two new references to relevant articles.

The commentary at the end of the volume is enormously detailed and succinct: one is relieved to be able to take the editors' word on its accuracy. The musical (as apart from the musicological) interest of these anthems is high, though not uniformly so. Once the final volume in the series appears we shall look forward to the publication of performing editions of many of the best of them: it is unthinkable that the fruits of so much industry and skill should be relegated to library shelves. D. L.

ANTHOLOGIES

Keyboard Music of the Baroque and Rococo, ed. by Walter Georgii. 3 vols. (Arno Volk, Cologne; Oxford University Press, 1960, 21s. each vol.)

This German collection is issued with covers, title pages and commentaries in English—an example of happily coinciding missionary zeal and commercial opportunism that might well be followed more widely. The three volumes present keyboard music from Byrd to Benda, excluding Bach and Handel, and thus cover a period comparable with, though slightly later than, that of Oesterle's collection of 1904, for long the only comprehensive anthology in general use in this country. Georgii's collection is shorter but more varied: where veneration for Purcell's name led Oesterle to print all eight harpsichord suites, Georgii exercises a perhaps too stringent musical judgment in making do with one prelude and the not very arresting 'Ground in Gamut', but finds room for pieces by Weckmann, Reinken, F. T. Richter, Böhm, J. K. F. Fischer and Krieger. This apparent emphasis on German music brings much nearer a representative picture of the background to Bach's achievement, and it is countered in his own period (Vol. II) by the preponderance of the French and Scarlatti. For many players the third volume will provide the most unfamiliar material; even the C. P. E. Bach keyboard works have not yet achieved much more than token recognition, but here are also well varied selections from Galuppi, Paradisi, Méhul, Wagenseil and Schobert.

Georgii's sources are sometimes contemporary, more often 'Denkmäler', and very often the nineteenth-century 'Trésor' compiled by the Farrencs. If the texts offer little in the way of new scholarship, they do make a plausible and clean basis for performance, except in a few pieces which

Georgii has phrased without shedding any searching light. Apart from these there is no sign either of the editorial tampering that was the curse of Oesterle or of his nonchalant indifference to period style. A few lavishly ornamented movements are printed in two versions but other editorial suggestions for ornamentation are relegated to the appendices so that their necessarily over-precise note values do not acquire too privileged a status; they are none the less intelligent solutions. The fingerings make no attempt to reinstate period practice but add to the general usefulness of this collection.

As pianists will benefit most from it, some editorial indication of the probable original instrument and of its characteristics would have helped to differentiate the approach to piano translation. The only examples of Kuhnau and Georg Muffat unfortunately duplicate those in the Harvard Anthology, though Muffat's magnificent Passacaglia is given in full by Georgii. His failure to follow Kirkpatrick's restoration of the convincing paired arrangement of Scarlatti's sonatas suggests that he could have looked further afield for his stimuli. Apart from such minor reservations these volumes, well engraved and well proof-read, provide an admirable answer to a widespread need.

P. A. E.

BASSOON AND PIANO

Maros, Rudolf, *Concertino*. Reduction for bassoon and piano. (Editio Musica, Budapest, 1960, 8s. 6d.)

The composer was a pupil of Kodály and is said to have acquired mannerisms associated with Bartók. He begins with small units, multiplies each to a climax or (in lyrical sections) a paragraph, and then drops it. Unfortunately these germs are not of Bartókian quality, and so, except in the fine elegiac slow movement, they produce a concerto that too often resembles a series of accompanied studies for the bassoon, each growing on the principal of the constructional toy. It is only fair to add that Maros is a brilliant orchestrator and that this concerto should not be finally judged from a piano copy.

A. H.

CELLO AND PIANO

Cooke, Arnold, *Sonata*. (Novello, London, 1960, 12s. 6d.)

Nobody who has tried to compose a long piece for cello and piano wonders at the paucity of fine cello sonatas and concertos. The cello can be more emphatic or lachrimose than smaller instruments, and it can stand (as in the Kodály 'Capriccio'), a heavier punishment of sawing and plucking, early recourse to which augurs badly for long-range composition. Finding in Cooke's sonata no long stretches with the cello part in the treble clef and no demand for the chirokinetics which engage the viewer more entertainingly than the listener, one might at first suppose so long a work to be less attractive than others by its accomplished composer. Better acquaintance with its contents proves his wisdom in following Brahms's example and withholding heavy rhetoric the better to maintain length. A rough trial at the piano (with a poor voice trying to produce the cello

notes) reveals subtle strokes of artistry in pages which look pedestrian, such as the first two of the scherzo. Among notable accomplishments here are the equipoise of tenor and bass *tessitura* and a number of ideas which traverse both registers. This work needs an attentive listener, but has plenty to offer those who enjoy a composer's ability to think in long paragraphs and to command an urbane lyricism.

A. H.

CHAMBER MUSIC

- Boccherini, Luigi, *Quintet*, E \flat major, Op. 21, no. 6, for flute and string quartet, ed. by Karl Haas.
Sextet, E \flat major, Op. 42, no. 2, for oboe, bassoon, horn and strings, ed. by Karl Haas.
 Miniature scores. (Novello, London, 1960, 4s. & 3s. 6d.)
 Haydn, Joseph, *Nocturno No. 1*, C major, ed. by H. C. Robbins Landon. (Doblinger, Vienna & Munich, 1961, 15s.)
 Jacob, Gordon, *Trio* for flute (doubling piccolo), oboe and harpsichord (or piano). (Oxford University Press, 1960, 12s. 6d.)
 Leigh, Walter, *Trio* for flute, oboe and piano. (Oxford University Press, 1960, 8s. 6d.)
 G. Francesco Malipiero, *Serenata mattutina* for ten instruments. Miniature score. (Universal Edition, London, 1960, 7s. 6d.)
 Milner, Anthony, *Quartet* for oboe and strings. Miniature score. (Novello, London, 1960, 4s.)
 Scott, Cyril, *String Quartet No. 3*. Miniature score. (Elkin, London, 1960, 7s. 6d.)
 Stockhausen, Karlheinz, *Kreuzspiel*, for oboe, bass clarinet, piano and percussion. Score. (Universal Edition, London, 1960, 17s.)

Though concert performances often show Boccherini to be an underrated composer, these two pieces do not offer much more than a shapely and unhurried presentation of rather ordinary ideas. There are two movements in the flute quintet, a placid Larghetto and a rondo momentarily enlivened by *sul ponticello* work. In the sextet the bass of the string trio is described as cello on the title page and double bass in the score. There is a puzzle about an ornament which occurs on repeated quavers. It is here printed with 'upper mordent' signs close together so as to look like the wavy line which it may well represent. (These matters are all surmise in the absence of editorial notes.) The suggested interpretation for the strings in the first movement is analogous to the shudderings in Purcell's 'Frost Scene', but it later comes on the bassoon, leading to unanswered guesses about flutter-tonguing. Furthermore, the same ornament comes in the next movement with a different and implausible interpretation.

The Haydn piece has never been published before. It is the first of a set of Nocturnes for the King of Naples scored for two horns, two clarinets, two violas, cello and double bass, with *concertante* parts for two *lire organizzate*, for which can be substituted, as Haydn did, flute and oboe—or, perhaps nearer to the original sound, two recorders (Karl Trötzmüller gives ingenious directions on the back page for producing a few notes which are not in the instruments' natural compass). The clarinet parts

can also be played almost as they stand on violins. With so much careful preparation done it is a pity to have to say that the music is no more than lively and pleasant-sounding.

Though Walter Leigh's trio was written in 1935 and Gordon Jacob's in 1958 the styles are remarkably similar, using brisk rhythms enlivened by sequences across the beat and forthright tunes sophisticated by playful chromatics. The treble-dominated medium lends itself to the bright and breezy style at which Gordon Jacob is so adept, and this is enhanced by the piccolo in the chattering last movement. Walter Leigh's slow movement has the ready charm of poetic Poulenc, but his final *Vivo* is almost too short.

Not only the title of Malipiero's work is unusual but also the scoring—flute, oboe, clarinet, two bassoons, two horns, celesta and two violas. The piece is continuous but employs sharply defined moods which are dexterously balanced. The instrumental writing is idiomatic—though the viola parts are difficult—and there are many felicitous sounds, particularly when the celesta joins in towards the end. With so chromatic a style one might have wished for some stronger melodic material. Anthony Milner's quintet is (unusually) in two movements, an *Allegro cantabile* and a *Lento* which consists of an expressive fugal exposition, a powerful rhapsodic climax and a return to the exposition with its intervals, both melodic and harmonic, ingeniously mellowed. The music is pervaded by the lowering of expected intervals, particularly in the opening, where the F \natural for F \sharp in E minor lends the whole a Phrygian air. There is a poetic sense of line and consistency of style, and the medium is not strained with matters too heavy for it.

Cyril Scott's third quartet is far removed from the 'English Debussy', if indeed that lazy name was ever justified. It is also far removed from fashionable trends, because it makes deliberate use of 'poetic' harmony, including parallels and near-parallels, and chromaticisms freely and whimsically alternating with diatonic progressions. The melodic writing is not very striking, so that it is not easy to find one's way through the structure by relying on it. But one can hardly suppose that the composer was relying on this means since his cross-references are veiled and unobtrusive. The muted slow movement, with its long lines and individual chording, makes the whole piece worth playing for its sake alone.

Stockhausen's work was written ten years ago but shows a typical pre-occupation with minutely organized sound, in pitch, dynamics and in actual positioning, since the cross-play of the title is achieved by three batteries of various tom-toms, tumbas and cymbals disposed at various heights around a lidless grand piano, to which ensemble is added an oboe and a bass clarinet. At first sight some of the very high sustained writing for the piano looks unrealistic (which is strange in a composer who is enormously specific in his directions) but the siting of the tom-toms so that they touch the piano may well add an unusual vibrancy to the tiny lengths of strings. It would be idle to suggest that one can hear this work from the score with anything like precision. What can be said is that one would like to do so—and that, in the circumstances, is saying a great deal. Players will find the notes easy, but the rhythms are very complicated—though above a basic pulse which rarely changes.

I. K.

CHORAL MUSIC

- Bush, Geoffrey, *Portraits: Five Songs about Musicians*. 1. *Orpheus*. 2. *Thomas Morley*. 3. *Henry Lawes*. 4. *Giles Farnaby*. 5. *Pan*. (Augener, London, 1961, 1s., 1s., 8d., 1s., 1s.)
- Gibbons, Orlando, *Do not repine, fair sun*. Welcome song for A.T.B. soli, S.A.A.T.B. chorus and strings, ed. by Philip Brett. Score. (Stainer & Bell, London, 1961.)
- Isaac, Heinrich, *Introitien*, I, ed. by Martin Just. 'Das Chorwerk', No. 81. (Möseler, Wolfenbüttel; Novello, London, 1960, 12s.)
- Mercure, Pierre, *Cantate pour une joie*, for soprano, chorus and orchestra. Vocal score. (Ricordi, Toronto, 1960, 22s. 6d.)
- Naylor, Bernard, *Nine Motets* for unaccompanied chorus. (Novello, London, 1960, 10d., 10d., 1s. 4d., 10d., 6d., 10d., 1s. 4d., 10d., 10d.)
- Stevens, Halsey, *The Ballad of William Sycamore*, for chorus (S.A.T.B.) and orchestra. Vocal score. (Galaxy Music Corporation, New York; Elkin, London, 1961.)
- Stone, David, *Winter*. Five songs for S.S.A. and piano. 1. *Winter*. 2. *Sleighbing*. 3. *A widow bird sate mourning*. 4. *Up in the morning*. 5. *To a snowdrop*. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960, 10d., 1s., 8d., 1s. 6d., 1s.)
- Zarlino, Giuseppe, *Drei Motetten und ein geistliches Madrigal*, ed. by Roman Flury. 'Das Chorwerk', No. 77. (Möseler, Wolfenbüttel; Novello, London, 12s.)

This is not the first time that Geoffrey Bush has shown his ability to recapture the spirit of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in his music. These five songs (for S.A.T.B.) are well written for the voices and contain much charm and humour. The big Gibbons piece is indeed a welcome addition to the early seventeenth-century secular repertory. It is of much interest structurally and its history is discussed in the editor's informative note on the back cover. The edition is both scholarly and thoroughly practical: perhaps a more helpful indication of the time changes on pages 18 and 26 would be [$\leftarrow\downarrow = \downarrow.\rightarrow$], and there seems no reason why the change on page 24 should not be [$\downarrow = \downarrow$].

Music owes an extraordinary debt to the Netherlands. Isaac was cradled there and like so many of his countrymen went farther afield to spread his influence. 'Das Chorwerk', no. 81 contains six of his six-part introits, all of which have two sections. They show on every page the complete assurance and competence of the composer, and make one realize more and more how curious it is that Palestrina, who died nearly 80 years after Isaac, has been raised so high on his pedestal. Mercure's cantata has little to commend it. The vocal writing is very static until the last chorus, and the accompaniment indulges in endless pedal points above which short patterns repeat themselves. An English translation is underlaid below the original French text; the printing of the music is of a very low quality.

Bernard Naylor's nine motets are probably the most important contribution to English church music by a single composer since Stanford. Their style is strikingly original, the vocal writing is exemplary and their effectiveness as settings of the diverse texts is beyond question. Their particular harmonic style makes them very difficult to sing, and one must

express the earnest hope that this will not cause their performance to be restricted to the concert hall, for the church today is desperately in need of music of this kind. Good boy choristers, ably and patiently taught, can, in fact, sing this sort of music. The choristers who sang the music in the Eton Choirbook can hardly have found the works of Browne any easier to sing than Naylor's motets are today.

Halsey Stevens's work portrays vividly the colourfulness of Stephen Vincent Benét's poem 'The Ballad of William Sycamore' (1790-1871), which tells of the tough days of the American pioneers. The music is clean, direct and essentially rhythmic and has a splendid feeling of purpose and movement. It was written for the 75th anniversary of the University of Southern California in 1955 and first performed there. Although the five songs by David Stone have nothing new to say, they are nicely written for women's voices, and the main interest is in the piano part.

The temptation to think of Zarlino merely as a writer about music is so strong that it is particularly pleasing to have some of his own music available in print. This small collection shows him as a competent but not necessarily inspired composer. 'Misereris omnium, Domine' looks like the best piece here, but the editor has done such extraordinary things with clefs and voices that one's imagination has to be stretched somewhat in order to appreciate the result. The range of the top voice lies between tenor *g* and treble *a* (mostly in the upper part of the range) and is written in the G clef (transposing down an octave); the fourth voice (out of the six) lies between tenor *d* and alto *f* (mostly in the upper part of the range) and is written in the bass clef. In this latter voice most of the notes hang in the air above the stave. The lowest voice sits most of the time in the region of bottom *g* (with bottom *d*'s and several *f*'s) so presumably the piece should go up about a fourth and be sung by S.A.T.A.T.B. rather than T.T.T.B.B.B. as suggested in this edition.

B. W. G. R.

FOLKSONG

Slovenské Ľudové Piesne (Slowakische Volkslieder), ed. by Béla Bartók.
Vol. I. (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, 1959, £2 10s.)

This is the first volume, 754 pages strong, of what is without a doubt the most important publication of its kind for many years. Bartók had lavished much care and incredible patience on collecting its contents, on its systematization and editing, yet he did not live to see it in print. What exactly this monumental collection had cost him is reflected in his correspondence, from which the story could be pieced together—and the picture is certainly not a bright one. Making it available at last, the Slovak Academy of Sciences deserves every praise, yet one cannot help being not a little surprised that such an obviously major work of Bartók should have to wait for posthumous publication. It is not as if his achievements in this sphere were unrecognized: people who had no understanding of his music usually professed to be aware of his importance as a folklorist of unique stature. There is no doubt, however, that the book is well produced. The paper is of high quality, the letterpress on the whole clear (though Bartók's wishes in this respect were not always fulfilled) and the engraving comfortably readable. The binding could have been slightly

stronger—my copy already shows signs of sagging at the spine. Bartók advised the inclusion of a section for photographs which he took himself.¹ This will probably follow as a supplement to the final volume, and the same applies to maps (which should indicate the localities in both Hungarian and Slovakian).

Anyone settling down to a serious inspection of the book will note an odd thing. The Bratislava publishers' imprint gives 1959: Bartók's foreword is dated 1923. This means that 36 years must have gone by before a work of such importance by a personality of such eminence could reach the public. Of course folklorists knew about the manuscript of this collection, as they did about Bartók's interest in Slovak melodies. In fact his first encounter with folk music itself happened in the region which constitutes the subject of this collection. He spent one of his summer holidays in the countryside of *comitat* Gömör (now Gemer), and his unwitting 'informants' were Slovak peasant girls whose singing, reaching him from afar, impressed him deeply enough to induce him to take down the melodies. His manuscript note-books have been preserved, and some of their contents were exhibited in the course of a paper read during the recent Centenary Commemoration organized by the Folk Music Collecting Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.²

Bartók began collecting about 1905 and went on until 1918 when systematic work was made impossible by the political changes after World War I. Meanwhile, in the course of his searching for Slovak material already published, he came across the collection 'Slovenské Spevky',³ which filled him with such enthusiasm that in 1910 he made an approach to the publishers offering the material which he had collected, and which he estimated to consist of about 400 melodies, for publication in the subsequent volumes planned for the series. Negotiations continued until 1913, but though Bartók was willing to renounce any fees and stipulated only the delivery of a few complimentary copies, the plan came to nothing. The next stage came many years later, in the early 1920's, when conditions were less favourable. By this time Bartók's collection had grown to include about 3,000 tunes.⁴ After the submission of a few specimen pages a contract was signed with the Matica Slovenská (a kind of national library and academy of arts) in 1921, in which Bartók bound himself to deliver the complete manuscript (and the phonograph cylinders) by the end of 1922. The Matica Slovenská on its part pledged itself to get the collection published within four years, in default of which Bartók was to regain right of publication. By October 1922 the first part of the collection was completed and delivered; by July 1923 two-thirds of the whole, together with the foreword, was ready for the press.

In 1928 Bartók informed the Matica Slovenská that he had finished the complete work. According to the terms of the contract he should have submitted the finished manuscript by 1922. The six years delay may be

¹ See his letter of 10 May 1928, in 'Bartók Béla levelei III: Magyar, Román, Szlovák Dokumentumok', ed. by János Demény (Budapest 1955), p. 244.

² György Kerényi-Benjámin Rajczky, 'Bartók népdal lejegyzései' (Bartók's Folksong Transcriptions).

³ A collection of Slovak folksongs derived mainly from teachers, and edited by Ján Kadavý and Karol Ruppeldt ('Turciánské Sväty Martin, 1880-1926').

⁴ The complete edition will include 3,409 melodies, of which this volume contains 778.

explained by the fact that, seeing that the Matica Slovenská was in no hurry to set up the portions he already submitted, he felt no particular urgency to proceed. The Matica Slovenská, on the other hand, were unwilling to go into print until the complete manuscript arrived. In June 1928 the last portion of the manuscript was handed over to a representative of the Matica Slovenská in Budapest. A number of 'improvements' were now asked for, most of which Bartók refused to make. In one case, however, he was willing to compromise. The Matica Slovenská suggested that text and tunes should be published separately, but there was a change of mind when a new editor was appointed. In 1932 the four-year term stipulated in the contract expired: Bartók made appropriate steps to regain his rights. In 1933 an approach was made by the Matica Slovenská to renew the contract and to entrust Bartók himself with the editorship, but the previous editor, in whose possession the manuscript material then was, would not return it until legal action had been taken. In 1935 a Slovak philologist took over (this was wholly reasonable since the texts were mostly in dialects unapproachable to non-natives), but work advanced very slowly.

The position, at this stage, was this: a complete manuscript was in the possession of the Matica Slovenská, with the Foreword dated 1923. I shall refer to this as the 'original version'. Bartók retained a copy of this and continued to enlarge it by the addition of references to variants from other published Slovak material that came into his hands, and from Hungarian collections and editions. He carried on with his revision and addenda right up to 1940 when he left Hungary, and took his copy with him to the United States. This copy may be called the 'definitive version'. The volume now published represents the 'original version'. A detailed examination of its contents should be postponed until all the volumes of the collection become available. But something must be said about the two essays which it contains—the editor's introduction and Bartók's foreword, which are given in several languages.

Elschek's introduction gives a fairly detailed estimation of Bartók's career as a folklorist. He also attempts to give an estimate of the role and influence of Slovak melodies in Bartók's creative work. Regrettably, he confines himself to the obvious—the main props of his argument are Bartók's folksong transcriptions and the 'For Children' set—but no doubt a more detailed discussion of the subject, which would include the effect of Slovak folk music on the style of Bartók's music as a whole, would have been out of place. Bartók's foreword, on the other hand, is of capital importance. It constitutes one of his most detailed expositions of a system of melodic classification: only his description of the method employed in editing the Serbo-Croat melodies may be said to be superior to it.⁵ Its main principles will be familiar to those acquainted with his 'Hungarian Folk Song' (London, 1931).⁶ The differences are accounted for, in the first place, by the difference of the respective musical idioms. Nor should it be forgotten that in the case of the Magyar melodies his original intention was to allow a historical and chronological distinction to be made, while

⁵ Béla Bartók & Albert B. Lord, 'Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs' (New York, 1951).

⁶ See also György Kerényi's essay in 'Studia Memoriae Belae Bartók Sacra' (Budapest, 1956).

here he aimed primarily at establishing a morphological discrimination that should be as closely defined as possible.

If we compare the classification of these melodies with his classification of the Magyar and the Serbo-Croat melodies we shall realize that Bartók had never regarded any one system as perfect and completely foolproof. He became convinced that the method must be adjusted to the most obvious idiomatic features of the material, and to the purpose of the classification itself. Hence the classification needed for a comparative investigation would be different from one employed in a historical, or purely morphological, examination. This conviction found striking justification recently when the publication of the Magyar material was begun in the volumes of the 'Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae'.⁷ Here a new approach was felt desirable to solve the problem of a classification which, based on a uniformly consistent principle, would also allow comparative study with melodies of other than Hungarian provenance.

J. S. W.

OBOE AND ORCHESTRA

Dittersdorf, Ditters von, *Concerto* for oboe and strings, ed. by Günter Rhau. Score. (Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden, 1960.)

Because it is not easy to find works which, under keen but fastidious trainers, student and amateur orchestras can bring to quasi-professional performance, conductors are not blamed when their choice of a symphony or concerto sounds what it often is—the less inspired fulfilment of a design used for established classics. How welcome, therefore, is a concerto in the key of G, playable by all strings within the first and third position, offering three movements comparable in length and organization with those in concertos by J. C. Bach, or by Mozart before he left Salzburg, providing ample scope for shading and grading by the string players and the oboe soloist and, above all, revealing enough character to be worth occasional performance at professional concerts.

The shapes of the movements, which follow Quantz's recipe for a concerto "of fine effects", are undistinguished, but the ideas, especially those which temper the general *Galanterstil* with a seasoning of *Empfindsamkeit*, tell us how much we may sometimes have credited Mozart with what was not exclusively his. For long stretches in all movements the viola part doubles the cellos at octave or unison and I should not hesitate to use keyboard continuo.

A. H.

OBOE AND PIANO

Bush, Geoffrey, *Concerto* for oboe and strings. Reduction for oboe and piano. (Elkin, London, 1960, 8s. 6d.)

Richardson, Alan, *A Reverie*, Op. 23, no. 1. (Augener, London, 1960, 2s. 6d.)

The parodic element in Geoffrey Bush's concerto is not superficial. He understands eighteenth-century concerto principles and ensures that his summer-house construction is not weakly built just because its materials

⁷ Discussed in *Music & Letters*, xli (1960), pp. 291-5.

are light. This would have been a less noteworthy achievement in a solemn work with lengthy contrapuntal developments. Yet despite the deft workmanship and the French condiments (the work dates from 1948) some of the ideas lack distinction, the invention being little more than of the right rhythms and textures in the right places. The second and third movements ('Siciliana' and 'Rondo alla giga') would be specially attractive within a somewhat solid programme, but the concerto as a whole would not bear frequent hearing. The two pages of Richardson's piece, with the leisured guile of Fauré, more deserve an opus number than do most modern deals of twenty pages. Cadences in the oboe tune and pedal effects in the accompaniment tether the harmony to Romantic tradition. The piece is not difficult, and not a note is wasted.

A. H.

ORGAN

Dyson, George, *Fantasia and Ground Bass*.

Variations on Old Psalm-Tunes, Book I. (Novello, London, 1960, 5s. 6d. & 4s. 6d.)

Harris, William H., *Processional March*.

Jirák, Karel B., *Five Little Preludes and Fugues*, Op. 77.

Lang, C. S., *Prelude and Fugue*, G minor. (Novello, London, 1960, 3s., 6s. & 3s. 6d.)

Sumson, Herbert, *Air, Berceuse and Procession*. (Novello, London, 1960.)

Wills, Arthur, *Postlude*. (Novello, London, 1960, 3s. 6d.)

Musicians need read no further: this (for the most part) is organists' music of the usual vintage. Surely only organists could write music today as if nothing had happened since Rheinberger. At once one must exclude from this stricture the music of Karel B. Jirák, professor of theory and composition at the Chicago Musical College of Roosevelt University, Chicago, and that of Arthur Wills, organist of Ely Cathedral. Wills's 'Postlude' is clearly derived from the French romantic toccata, but it contains moments of real beauty and reveals an original and interesting approach to an old style. Jirák's 'Five Little Preludes and Fugues' are easily the most enterprising and unusual of the pieces listed above, impressionist in feeling and at the same time laced with cogently argued counterpoint in an angular but coherent manner.

For the rest, we have a succession of well-turned, solidly-based, workmanlike pieces in the well-established academic vein, impeccable B.Mus. (even D.Mus.) composition and just about as interesting. They are effectively laid out for the instrument and sound impressive as background music: they do all the right things but still manage to remain musically insignificant. Harris's 'Processional March' (written for Princess Margaret's wedding) is an exception: it bears all the marks of hurried, occasional writing, passable as extemporization but intolerably weak on paper, particularly near the end—a most uncharacteristic piece. Lang's fugue, on the other hand, comes off well and has an interesting climax, if one can pretend that the year is 1761 and not 1961. Dyson and Sumson are, of course, technically very proficient indeed, but their ideas are too uninspired and their style too outworn to attract any but their own generation.

D. L.

PIANO SOLO

- Babin, Victor, *Variations on a theme by Beethoven*. (Augener, London, 1960, 6s.)
- Chávez, Carlos, *Invención*. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960, 8s.)
- Charpentier, Jacques, *72 Études Karnatiques*, nos. 1-6 & 13-18. (Leduc, Paris; United Music Publishers, London, 1960, 11s. 3d. each book.)
- Coke, R. Sacheverell, *15 Variations and Finale on an original theme*, C minor, Op. 37. (Published by the composer, 1959.)
- Kabalevsky, Dmitri, *4 Rondos*. (Sikorski, Hamburg; Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1959, 5s.)
- Langstroth, Ivan, *Sonatina*. (Novello, London, 1960, 4s. 6d.)
- Ridout, Alan, *Suite for clavichord or piano*. (Stainer & Bell, London, 1961.)
- Scott, Cyril, *Pastoral Ode*. (Elkin, London, 1961, 3s. 6d.)

Victor Babin's jests on the 'Ruins of Athens' march have all the polish of the professional entertainer, and as dispiriting an effect; scarcely a trace of a creative personality emerges from the masks worn by this music, and it seems a cruel 'Homage to Milhaud' which seeks to exploit his fragile lyrical gift. R. Sacheverell Coke's variations do convey the impression of a composer who knows what sort of music he wants to write. That it had already been written before he began has not daunted him, and he is above the despicable practice of giving a would-be ironic twist to what he loves in the hope of finding favour. Players who can echo his optimistic rhetoric will certainly enjoy its textural fluency. Kabalevsky's rondos are innocent of such opulence, and of all claim to serious attention.

The dedication of Chávez's 'Invención' to Copland reminds us that each composer, best known for a persuasive folk-derived manner, has also cultivated a more exploratory, gritty style. Copland's piano fantasy proved to be his most cogent essay in the unification of diverse uncompromising textures by a skill that had profited from serial examples. Chávez's attempt at a similar continuous structure is a vast perambulation through essentially two-strand relationships, too often apparently fortuitous. Though there are occasional aural identities of shape, no regulating criteria either of dissonance or of rhythm have been allowed to curb a surge of richly imaginative pianism. In his Norton lectures Chávez deplored our age's emphasis on pre-established organizational principles, preferring that the composer should "give expression to the music he has actually heard within himself". This ought not to prevent his exercising some control over the means of releasing it; here is invention run riot.

Jacques Charpentier was a pupil of Messiaen. His master's most ambitious cycles are prone to fluctuation between a notably original style and merely idiosyncratic mechanisms, and the ambition has always stopped a long way short of 72 pieces. Charpentier is no Boulez, but a faithful disciple to whom an individual path consists in finding a neglected by-way in the master's territory. Whereas Messiaen has used a modal system of his own devising, he has also borrowed many rhythmic proportions from Hindu theory, most extensively in 'Oiseaux exotiques'. His pupil is here discovered gamely working through the 72 melodic modes of Karnatic theory, amplifying each into texture according to its implications,

and so varying from near-tonal to near-twelve-note (but not serial) in manner. The rhythmic organization includes all Messiaen's devices, among them the fixed (and wearisome) association of pitch elements with durations. Only Messiaen's vivid bird-song evocations are missing, and any sign of his fitful but commanding genius. As piano studies and as evidence of a talent for composition these pieces are far from despicable, but the apprentice has set himself an impossible creative task in trying to animate the sorcerer's symbols.

Ivan Langstroth exercises his control of neat progression and patterned figuration in pseudo-classical structures. Below this apparently purposeful surface little can be induced to suggest any motivation for his activity. The hackneyed response to 'pastoral' is pleasantly missing from Cyril Scott's piece, though the tendency to sprawl rhapsody is not. If the remarkably imaginative harmony of this veteran were harnessed more purposefully in the service of inventive textures, instead of wandering idly among the chords, as beautiful objects, his style could still command more than a nostalgic affection. New music for the clavichord carries a suggestion of preciousness which is not dispelled by the elegant small format in which Alan Ridout's suite appears, but its five movements are idiomatic without recourse to quaint formulas. Though their slightly tart chromatic melody (related, like Martin's, to fluctuating but simple harmonic units) loses by transfer to the piano's blunter tone, these simple ternary pieces would make excellent material with which to wean intelligent young pianists from the inanities which are their customary lot.

P. A. E.

SOLO SONGS

Britten, Benjamin, *Folksong Arrangements*. Vol. 5: British Isles. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1961.)

Joubert, John, *Two Invocations* for tenor and piano. (Novello, London, 1960, 4s. 6d.)

Lees, Benjamin, *Cyprian Songs* for baritone and piano. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1960, 8s.)

Rodrigo, Joaquin, *Cuatro Madrigales Amatorios* for high voice and piano. (Chester, London, 1960.)

Britten's latest folksong book contains only five arrangements, but of songs so familiar as to attract many singers and, no doubt, the usual accusations of wilful perversity. His ability to write an accompaniment that pertinently supports the voice without encroaching on the expressive entity of its line is again evident—in the dual time-scale of 'The brisk young widow', the ground bass of 'Sally' and the harmonic plan of 'Ca' the yowes'. We do not expect foreigners to share the concern with which we approach such treatments of our traditional material; so it is possible that a Spaniard would find jarring notes in Rodrigo's songs (originally with chamber orchestra) after sixteenth-century models. To this outsider they seem an engaging fusion of simple lines with accompaniments that steer confidently between the dangers of the ingenuous and the ingenious.

The shadow of Britten's style seems almost to materialize at some moments in Joubert's 'Invocations' (e.g. in the first piano interlude in 'To Spring'). But however derivative the idiom, the impulse is personal

and, in the elaboration of rock-like pedals in 'Winter', very powerful. The studied simplicity of vocal line scarcely offers enough resistance here, but is beautifully unfolded in 'Spring' until cheapened by the platitudinous splendour of the final page. By comparison, Benjamin Lees's vocal writing is grey and often rather stilted, at its best in the deliberately spare movement of 'Still is it as it was'; but this song and the last are crippled by the doggerel quality of the final lines of verse (by Richard Nickson). The piano textures are economical and richly imaginative in the mildly chromaticized diatonicism that Lees handles so surely. With more challenging poems to stir his melodic invention he may add significantly to the small but distinguished repertory of American song.

P. A. E.

VIOLIN AND PIANO

Bach, J. S., *Concerto*, D minor, ed. by Ingolf Dahl & Joseph Szigeti. Reduction for violin and piano. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1961, 12s. 6d.)

The style of the harpsichord concerto in D minor, BWV 1052, makes me believe that Bach wrote the original music. I am convinced by its figuration, not by its towering superiority over other concertos as claimed by Tovey: "If any predecessor of Bach could have designed the whole of a single paragraph of this concerto, Bach's position would not have been unique". Why 'position'? One cannot be overawed by this pronouncement if one recalls only a few earlier concertos in D minor—Albinoni's Op. 9, no. 2 which could be fobbed off as Bach's, or the Vivaldi and Marcello concertos which Bach transcribed. Tovey's essay contains ample compensation for its lapse, but I am sure that he and other pianists have delayed our hearing of the original instrumentation. Audiences include more pianists than violinists, and since there are keyboard arrangements even of Bach's sonatas for unaccompanied violin we cannot wonder at popular reluctance to allow a violin concerto to oust the keyboard translation which, *pace* Tovey, others could have made no less efficiently than Bach.

It is precisely because one recognizes a fine work without accepting extravagant comparisons that one wishes it were as effective, purely as sound, as the concerto for two violins. The spacious ideas of each movement make a fine initial impact yet lose their appeal as they are persistently worked round the cycle of keys, for no surfeit of terrace games with pedal appliances enables the harpsichord to produce the vital line which a good violinist could give us by merely translating from the harpsichord part.

Bach was sufficiently attached to this music to leave five or six arrangements from which to reconstruct the original. The earliest published attempt seems to have been made by Ferdinand David in 1872. Dahl mentions six published since 1917 and tells us that his list is incomplete, yet who has heard the work with solo violin and orchestra? Despite one's first suspicions on reading the familiar aspiration that they had "struck the balance between authenticity of text, accuracy of surmises, and practicability for the present day performer", Dahl and Szigeti seem to have done their work admirably, and the edition neatly indicates all purely editorial addenda. Let us hope that the editors or others will secure its use in public concerts.

A. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'

HANDEL—MORE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS

Sir,

May I amplify a few points raised by the new letters about Handel published by Betty Matthews in the April issue? The date 23 February 1755/6 (p. 129), which she rightly queries, should be 1745/6. In that season Handel gave only three oratorio performances, in order to oblige the subscribers who had received short measure the previous year. The last of them was on 26 February 1746, and the "new composition" was the 'Occasional Oratorio'. No other year will fit the facts.

The letters about the loan of scores for provincial performances confirm much that had been suspected. It was already clear that the Oxford performance of 'Joshua' in 1756 was given with Handel's consent, and the same no doubt applies to other revivals of rare works, such as 'Hercules' at Salisbury the same year and 'The Choice of Hercules' at Oxford in 1757. There was no copyright in performance during the eighteenth century, which explains Handel's chariness in lending scores and the fact that the choruses, except in two special cases, were withheld from publication. If Mrs. Matthews is right in supposing that 'Mr. B.' in Shaftesbury's letter of 31 December 1757 refers to Mr. Broderip, there may well have been a performance of 'Joshua' at Bristol in 1758, perhaps associated with one of 'Saul'. A Bristol libretto of the latter was printed in 1758, but no further details are known.

The 'Chorus's' mentioned in the letter of 8 February 1757 are presumably "Sion now her head shall raise", added to 'Esther' (and later to 'Judas Maccabaeus') in that year, and the revisions in 'The Triumph of Time and Truth', which however contained virtually no new music. The "several new songs" composed for Cassandra Frederick at the end of the same year were five additions to 'The Triumph of Time and Truth', introduced at the revival of 10 February 1758. They are not strictly new compositions but adaptations of earlier material dating from Handel's youth in Italy fifty years before. It is most unlikely that Miss Frederick was five and a half years old (as the advertisements stated) when she played a Handel concerto in 1749. Shaftesbury implies that she was eight, which would make her seventeen when she sang in 1758.

The music printed at the end of the article, and reproduced in facsimile, is identical as regards treble and bass with the Sarabande for harpsichord in E, No. 16 of the Aylesford pieces published by Barclay Squire and Fuller-Maitland in 1928 from a copy in the Royal Music Library (R.M. 19. a. 3, fo. 64). Handel used it in expanded form (transposed to D major) for the air 'Fain would I know if virtue confessing', one of the 1758 additions to 'Belshazzar', and Walsh published the air in the same year. But it may have been earlier adapted to another text, for

the words are ungrammatical and bear every sign of having been dubbed on the music.

The absence of references to Handel's blindness in the letters is noteworthy. It is good to learn how often "the old Buck" was "excessively healthy and full of spirits".

Hambledon Hurst,
Godalming,
Surrey.

27 May 1961.

WINTON DEAN.

'GOD SAVE THE QUEEN'

Sir,

Much ink has been spilled on the origin of the melody of our National Anthem, but not so much on that of the words. The late Percy A. Scholes mentions the line 'Long to reign over us' as a watchword of the Navy as early as 1545; but it occurs in old Bishop Latimer's first sermon before King Edward VI, and from the context we should judge that the phrase was even then a familiar one.

The University Library,
Glasgow, W.2.
13 June 1961.

HENRY G. FARMER.

MAURICE GREENE'S 'THE CHAPLET'

Sir,

I am anxious to locate and, if possible, to examine a copy of 'The Chaplet', a collection of twelve English songs by Dr. Maurice Greene published, I gather, c. 1735. According to the 'British Union-Catalogue of Early Music' no copy of the work is to be found among the holdings of any of the great libraries in this country. It may be, however, that some reader knows of a copy which has survived in private hands. If so, I should be most grateful if he would communicate with me. Even a list of the titles of the twelve songs which make up this collection would be very helpful.

Balliol College,
Oxford.

H. DIACK JOHNSTONE.

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